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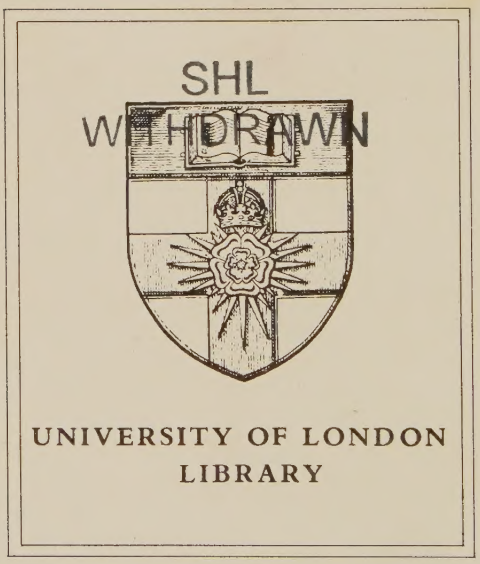

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TRANSACTIONS

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ROBERT BACON AND THE EARLY DOMINICAN SCHOOL AT OXFORD

By Miss B. Smalley, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S.

Read 11 January 1947

Robert Bacon is the first Dominican master at Oxford about whom anything certain is known. Prof. J. C. Russell has collected those details about his life which can be found in chronicle and record sources.[1] To summarize :—Bacon was already a master in 1219, when he was presented to a living at a church in Oxfordshire. He resigned in 1227, probably in order to become a Dominican ; he is said to have received the habit from Jordan of Saxony, who was in Oxford in 1229/30. Bacon continued his teaching until his death in 1248. He was a friend of Grosseteste and a friend and schoolfellow of St. Edmund Rich, and he seems to have shared their views on politics. Matthew Paris tells us that Bacon preached an outspoken sermon before the king and certain bishops in 1233, when the barons had refused to meet Henry at Oxford. The king would never have peace, Bacon said, until he removed the bishop of Winchester and Peter des Rievaux from his counsels.[2] Paris couples Bacon with another English Dominican, Richard Fishacre, who died in the same year, in a glowing tribute to the two friars. Both had a great reputation for scholarship, ' in theologia et in aliis scientiis ', and for preaching : ' populis gloriose praedicaverunt verbum Domini '.[3] Bacon served on a number of commissions and was active in connexion with the Oxford Jewry. Professor Russell concludes that ' these tasks show him a man of business ability often entrusted with responsibility '.

[1] ' A Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth-Century England ', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Special Suppl., iii (1936), 130–1.
[2] *Chronica maiora* (Rolls Series), iii. 244–5.
[3] *Ibid.*, v. 16.

We have no satisfactory account of Bacon's writings.[1] This is hardly surprising: Robert Grosseteste and the Franciscan school at Oxford have tended to monopolize the interest of historians. In spite of recent studies, we still know very little about the early Dominican masters. A record of Bacon's teaching would help to redress the balance, if it could be found.

The only work which can be ascribed to Bacon on unimpeachable manuscript evidence is a sermon, or rather, short notes for a sermon, in MS. Royal 7. A. ix, fo. 70v. The notes are headed, in the same hand: 'Sermo de prima die Rogationis secundum Magistrum Robertum Bacun'. They were probably intended for a clerical audience, since the preacher quotes Origen and Augustine. They include one *exemplum*, which may be original: I cannot find it in the better known collections. It warns against distraction in prayer. A certain man was told to say thirty paternosters daily, as a penance; so he asked a boy to repeat them with him, to keep count for him. When he thought he had got through the right number he asked the boy how many he had said, and the boy answered: 'You have begun many, but you haven't finished a single one.'

This little piece at least puts Bacon upon the map, and makes one readier to consider the suggested attribution to him of a commentary on the Psalter in MS. Bodley 745 (2764). The manuscript is a bulky collection consisting of works by Hugh of Folieto, Hugh of St. Victor, St. Bonaventure and two sets of sermons on the Psalter. The second set of sermons, which is the last item in the volume, is anonymous, but has been identified by the present Keeper of Western MSS. as Philip the Chancellor's. Philip taught theology at Paris between about 1206 and 1218. He then held the office of chancellor of Notre Dame until his death in 1236. His sermons on the Psalter became very popular and survive in many copies.[2] The other set of sermons has a title in red ink, written in the same hand as the text: 'Tractatus fratris R. Bacun super psalterium.' It begins: '*Beatus vir . . . impiorum, etc.* Hoc exponitur de uno martire vel confessore . . .' (p. 193), and ends: '. . . cum dixit: pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum, etc. Ipsi gloria in

[1] See the correction of earlier notices by D. A. Callus, 'Introduction of Aristotelian Learning to Oxford', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxix (1943), 31, n. 3.

[2] The incipit is: 'Exurge psalterium et cithara . . .'. See P. Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1933), no. 119b.

secula seculorum. Amen.' (p. 497). The table of contents on the flyleaf of the volume, which is written in a rather later hand, describes this item as : ' Tractatus fratris Rogeri Bacun super psalterium.' Madan, in the *Summary Catalogue*,[1] suggests Robert rather than Roger Bacon as the probable author, in spite of the flyleaf. The correction seems plausible enough, since Roger was not a theologian and so would have had no occasion to comment on the Psalter. It becomes more plausible still as one examines the manuscript. There are no marks of provenance ; Madan judged from the appearance that it was ' written early in the 14th cent. in France (?) ' ; but the hands look rather late thirteenth-century, and not the very end of the century either, and there seems no reason for calling them French in preference to English. The latest of the other pieces in the collection, the *Breviloquium*, was written by St. Bonaventure before 1257.[2] This would give us a perfectly reasonable setting for a work by an Oxford Dominican written between about 1230 and 1248.

The *tractatus* itself contains about 300 pieces, each with its separate heading. The rubricator has generally called them ' sermons '. They are noted as suitable to various days in the Christian year, or to various occasions, ' in time of war ', for example, or to various types of audience. These are not real sermons, however ; they are extracts from a commentary on the Psalter, of the type which was normally given in the schools as a lecture course. The master would go through his text, expounding it according to the literal and ' spiritual ', i.e. moral and allegorical senses. The ' spiritual ' exposition was supposed to train the students to preach and it was often preserved, in full or in extracts, as an aid to sermon making.[3] Most of the commentaries on the Psalter which have come down to us from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries belong to this particular literary *genre*. The *Tractatus fratris R. Bacun* bears clear marks of its origin in the schools. The commentator is working through his text, sometimes quoting the school text-books, giving alternative explanations (aliter potest istud exponi), occasionally alluding to the literal sense of a passage. We are certainly in the class-room.

Is it an Oxford class-room ? The ascription to Robert

[1] *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS.*, ii (1922), 352–3.
[2] Glorieux, *op. cit.*, no. 305k.
[3] B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1941), pp. 198–218.

could only be substantiated by internal evidence. I began to read the *tractatus* with an open mind. By the time I had finished, a figure had risen before me: it had quite distinct outlines and was wearing a Dominican habit. I hope I may succeed in transferring the impression to you.

The first stage, in studying a work of this kind, is to trace its immediate sources. One presupposes the use of Peter Lombard's *Greater Gloss* on the Psalter. The lecturer would normally use, in addition, either his own student notes, or a published version of his master's lectures, which he would abridge, amplify, or just reproduce, according to taste. The Psalter was a favourite book with teachers; so my task would have been heavy if Dr. Hunt had not kindly lent me his index of surviving twelfth- and thirteenth-century commentaries on the Psalms. It was a routine matter to check them through. In view of Robert Bacon's friendship with Grosseteste and Edmund Rich, it was advisable to look for resemblances between his commentary and theirs.[1] Neither showed any trace either of borrowing or of use of a common source. It was natural, too, to investigate Philip the Chancellor's commentary, particularly as a copy is included in the same Bodleian manuscript. The comparison with Bacon brought out striking similarity in treatment, and in the choice of classical authors to be quoted, but no identity, either of wording or of subject matter.[2] One had to fall back on the masters of an earlier period.

Bacon's model proved to be a set of *sermones super psalterium* by the French master, John Halgrin of Abbeville. The facts about John's career are fairly well established. We have no *terminus a quo* for his regency at Paris; but we know that he was still teaching in 1216. He became successively dean of Amiens, archbishop of Besançon, cardinal bishop of Santa Sabina, and died in 1237. Gregory IX, who raised John to the cardinalate, had a high opinion of his character, and entrusted him with important missions: John preached the crusade in Spain and he visited the court of Frederick II.[3] The chronicle of Alberic of Trois Fontaines, referring to his promotion to Besançon in 1225, calls him: 'vir honestis

[1] I used the copy of Grosseteste's commentary on the Psalms in MS. Eton College 8, and the notes ascribed to St. Edmund in MS. Worcester Cathedral Q. 67, fos. 128–37.

[2] I also compared Bacon's commentary with another popular work on the Psalms by Master Odo of Châteauroux, who was teaching at Paris about 1230. MS. Balliol College Oxford, 37, is a copy of his commentary (see Glorieux, *op. cit.*, 137b). It seems to be practically identical with Philip the Chancellor's.

[3] Glorieux, *op. cit.*, no. 113.

moribus preditus et ad predicandum optimus theologus '.[1] The description corresponds well with the works ascribed to him, which are all either pastoral or exegetical. The two most widely diffused in existing manuscripts are sermon collections. Of these, the sermons on the Psalter have been printed among the works of St. Anthony of Padua,[2] but recent research has proved that they belong to John of Abbeville on both external and internal evidence.[3] Far from suggesting a Franciscan *milieu*, they place their author in the succession of practical moralists, satirists and men of affairs who lectured on the Bible at Paris in the later twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, of whom Stephen Langton is the outstanding example.

Bacon's indebtedness to John of Abbeville leaps to the eye. The incipits of their sermon collections are so alike that Fr. Callebaut, judging from Madan's description in the *Summary Catalogue*, actually included MS. Bodley 745 in his list of manuscripts containing works by John of Abbeville. If we set them side by side we have a clear case of the master-pupil relationship. On the other hand, minor difficulties rear their heads at every stage of the collation. Fifteen manuscript copies of John's work on the Psalter have been noted by scholars, and considerable variations have been recorded. Fr. Callebaut comments that some of the manuscripts seem to give ' merely a *reportatio* ', a student's notes of the lecture course. The only two copies available to me in England were the printed version, published under the name of St. Anthony, and MS. Bodley 727 (2691). St. Anthony's editors printed a defective copy, which lacked the first two sermons. The remainder proved to be roughly identical with MS. Bodley 727 up to the commentary on Ps. xvii. The two copies diverge from this point up to the commentary on Ps. civ. For this section they clearly represent either two *reportationes*

[1] *Mon. Germ. Hist., Scriptores*, xxiii. 916. John and the future Pope Gregory IX were fellow students at Paris, according to an unsupported statement in *Gallia Christiana*, xv (1860), 64. Gregory writes of him warmly in a letter to the dean and chapter of Besançon, 1229 : ' Nos . . . venerabilem scil. fratrem nostrum episcopum Sabinensem, quondam pastorem ipsius ornatum virtutibus quasi lapidibus pretiosis, transferentes ad Romanam Ecclesiam . . . ut ibi quanto excellentius tanto clarius eniteret, . . . ' (L. Auvray, *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, i. 165, no. 274).

[2] *Medii Aevi Bibl. Patrist.* I, vi. 575–1266.

[3] The arguments for the authorship of John of Abbeville are given by A. Callebaut, ' Les sermons sur les psaumes imprimés sous le nom de saint Antoine restitués au cardinal Jean d'Abbeville ', *Archivum franciscanum historicum*, xxv (1932), 161–74. This paper has a full notice of John's life and a list of manuscripts. See also a review of the paper by D. Scaramuzzi and the writer's reply, *Studi francescani*, xxix (1932), 603–14, and M. Inguanez, ' I codici cassinensi 386 et 388 ', *Bibliofilia*, xxxvii (1935), 221–4.

of the same lecture, or else one a *reportatio* and the other the master's own work. Then, from here to the end, they are alike again, except that the text in MS. Bodley 727 is slightly shorter. The Bodleian manuscript is quite early; it must have been written before the middle of the thirteenth century at least; but the exemplar was evidently defective; the scribe has left blanks in many places for fractions of lines, even for several lines together. This in itself suggests that the original was a student *reportatio*.[1] Stephen Langton's biblical commentaries have come down to us, in most cases, in at least three *reportationes* of the same lecture course. Occasionally, one manuscript copy will contain two separate *reportationes*: a scribe begins to copy from one *reportatio*, and then, at some stage in his work, he breaks off and continues from another. The sudden appearance of a second version of John of Abbeville's commentary in the middle of the text of MS. Bodley 727 is not at all disconcerting in the light of this precedent.

I collated the relevant part of Bacon's *tractatus* with the two versions of John of Abbeville to see which of them Bacon was using. It soon became evident that he was using neither, but a third *reportatio*. Even allowing for possible retouches and additions to his source, there is a minimum of verbal identity in passages where the subject matter is quite similar.

The pattern still remained tolerably simple; it was complicated by another set of sermons on the Psalter in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 15571, fos. 3r–26v. The volume, which is a collection, came to the Sorbonne in 1288 as part of the legacy of Stephen of Abbeville, canon of Amiens.[2] I have seen a few pages in rotograph, and Mlle d'Alverny of the Bibliothèque nationale very kindly sent me the incipits of the sermons. They are anonymous, but the first one has the same incipit as the *tractatus* ascribed to Bacon in the Bodleian manuscript. The piece in MS. lat. 15571 is fragmentary; it breaks off at Ps. xxxii, the remainder having been lost before the volume was bound. It is written in what may be a French hand of the later thirteenth century. The text of the exposition of Psalms i–iv corresponds to that of Bacon in MS. Bodley 745. There are only the slight variations in wording that one expects to find in two copies deriving ultimately from the same original. The remainder,

[1] For the characteristics of the student *reportatio* of lectures on Scripture, see B. Smalley, *op. cit.*, pp. 161–7.

[2] L. Delisle, *Cabinet des MSS. de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1874), ii. 174.

comprising the commentary on Psalms v–xxxii, is not the same as Bacon's. It seems to be yet another version of John of Abbeville, most likely another *reportatio*.[1]

We can deduce, I think, that at least three versions of the sermons of John of Abbeville were circulating in incomplete copies, while Bacon was using a fourth. Probably they all originated in *reportationes*, though one of them may have been the official version, written or approved by the master himself. John must have been an important and influential teacher. The task of classifying all the surviving manuscripts, which might well bring many more variations to light, would give an excellent opportunity for a research student to familiarize himself with the type of problem raised by works produced in the Paris schools at this period. It would also be interesting to establish John's academic pedigree. He was not borrowing to any appreciable extent, if at all, from Peter of Poitiers, Peter the Chanter, Prepositinus or Michael of Meaux.[2] A

[1] I have transcribed a passage from all three versions of John of Abbeville, and from Bacon, in parallel passages, in Appendix II (below, pp. 18–19).

[2] For Peter of Poitiers, I used MS. Laud misc. 499; see P. S. Moore, *The Works of Peter of Poitiers* (Catholic University of America, 1936), pp. 78–96; for Peter the Chanter, MSS. Bodley e Mus. 30 and Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 49; both contain incomplete versions of the Chanter's commentary, but there is enough to show that John of Abbeville did not use it as his principal source. No copy of Prepositinus on the Psalter was available to me; so I had to limit the comparison to the transcript of his commentary on Ps. iv printed by G. Lacombe, *La vie et les oeuvres de Prévostin* (Bibliothèque thomiste, xi, 1927), pp. 106–11. The commentary of Michael of Meaux has been printed among the works of St. Bonaventure, (Vatican edition, 1588, i, 76–162); for the authorship, see Fidelis a Fanna, *Ratio novae collectionis operum omnium S. Bonaventurae* (Turin, 1874), pp. 179–83. As I shall have to refer to this commentary later, it is worth pointing out a few facts which have hitherto escaped notice. The prologue quotes Michael of Meaux: 'Hoc dicit Meldensis, vel sic legatur littera . . . vel, ut dicit Parisiensis . . .' (p. 90 of the printed edition; MS. Oxford, New College, fo. 11r). This may explain the ascription in a number of manuscript copies, noted by Fanna: 'Finis distinctionum post Meldensem collectarum'. Either the work is a *reportatio*, which refers to the lecturer in the third person, by his name; reporters did this occasionally; or it is not by Michael of Meaux, but by an unknown scholar, perhaps a pupil of his, who refers to his teaching. The date can be fixed approximately by a topical allusion. On Ps. cxvii, 24: *Haec est dies, quam fecit Dominus*, the commentator says: 'Nota ad litteram, secundum legem debuit esse annus iubileus in anno resurrectionis Christi, et vere tunc fuit annus iubileus nobis . . . Dicitur etiam quod in anno quo rex Philippus debita Iudeorum condonavit, debuit esse annus iubileus' (p. 154). This must refer to the expulsion of the Jews by Philip II of France in April 1182. Rigord says: 'Iste annus potest merito vocari iubileus; quia sicut in veteri lege iubileo omnes possessiones libere revertebantur ad pristinos possessores, et omnia debita remittebantur, ita, tanta relaxatione debitorum a christianissimo rege facta, christiani in regno Francie manentes perpetuam libertatem a debitis Iudeorum sunt consecuti' (*Gesta Philippi Augusti*, ed. Delaborde, Paris, 1882, p. 27), see A. Cartellieri, *Philipp II August*, i. 124. Unfortunately the reference to the Jews, which is contained in the printed edition of Michael's commentary, is lacking in the only manuscript available to me at present, MS. Oxford,

systematic search through continental manuscripts might lead to the discovery of his source. A comparison with Stephen Langton's commentary on the Psalter, which is not available in this country, would be a good starting point.

Meanwhile, we have made two positive gains. The place of Bacon's studies was previously unknown. Now it seems probable that he was a pupil of John of Abbeville at Paris. This would explain his use of John's commentary. The personal version of it, which he quotes and amplifies, may represent his own *reportatio* of his master's lectures. Scholars agree that John's *sermones super psalterium* belong to about the turn of the century.[1] Since Bacon was qualified as a master by 1219, he may well have been studying theology at Paris about 1210 or a little earlier. We have attached our Oxford Dominican to a Paris master who specialized in preaching and in training his pupils to preach, and whose views and character commended him to Gregory IX.

Next, having established Bacon's source, we can see how he treats it, and we may be able to distinguish his own, personal contribution from what he has borrowed. The only difficulty here is that the two commentaries do not cover quite the same texts. A comparison of Bacon with John of Abbeville on the first seventy psalms in the printed version, which is fuller than the manuscript, revealed twenty-one passages of the Psalms expounded by John and not by Bacon, forty-eight passages expounded by Bacon and not by John. In addition, Bacon's commentary has two separate sermons on seven passages, where John gives only one sermon for each. Very likely the additional matter in Bacon's work derives from a fuller record of John's teaching than we possess elsewhere. Hence one lacks the means of checking Bacon's originality in certain places. Nevertheless, with so much material for comparison, one begins to have an inkling of the kind of comment that Bacon is likely to make.

Bacon has enlivened his source by reproducing it in more colloquial terms. He has made the satire more pointed, and he likes to illustrate his doctrine by giving concrete examples.

New College, 36. It may therefore represent a later gloss, but even so it is unlikely to have been made long after 1182, when memory of the episode was fresh. The only other possibility would be that it was copied from Rigord's chronicle, but this was very rare (see Delaborde, *op. cit.*, p. iv), and the reference to the Jubilee year does not reappear in the relevant passages in William le Breton, whose works were more widely diffused. Michael became dean of Meaux in 1166/7, dean of Laon in 1191, dean of Paris in 1192, archbishop of Sens in 1194, and he died in 1199 (*Histoire littéraire de la France*, xv. 324).

[1] Callebaut, *op. cit.*, pp. 171–2.

Here, it seems, a Dominican, and possibly an English background appears. He comments as follows on the words *exceeding poor* (Ps. lxxviii. 8):

> True poverty is in religion, wherein is no ownership of person or of property, nor freedom of work or of rest. There is a greater and a lesser degree of such poverty: a greater in those who possess nothing personally, and little even in common, a lesser in those who possess nothing personally, but possess wealth in common.[1]

Bacon has taken over a stock definition of religion, which is quoted by at least one twelfth-century commentator on the same biblical text.[2] Then he goes on to draw a contrast between the old and the new religious Orders: the latter enjoin a stricter type of poverty: this passage is likely to have been written by a friar, and by a Dominican rather than by a Franciscan. The Friars Minor would have denied that the possession of even 'a little in common' was compatible with true religion.

The text *Of thee shall I continually sing* (Ps. lxx. 6) evokes warning against the various sins which can be committed in singing the mass and the liturgy. Some priests say mass for temporal gain, as do those who take money for saying one or more, or for saying anniversary or triennial masses, as hireling priests, who are paid for their service. The practice of establishing anniversary and triennial masses seems to have been the origin of the foundation of chantries[3]; it was troubling the English episcopate about the time that Bacon wrote. The constitutions of Bishop Richard Poore forbid the practice in severe terms, which are reproduced in the constitutions of St. Edmund in 1236.[4] Bacon uses the same expression for hireling priests that we find in the constitutions: *sacerdotes conductitii*. He goes on to other offences. Some sin in their intention, as do those who sing just in order to please women. Some sin against the ordinance of the mass, as do those who

[1] MS. Bodley 745, p. 365: 'Vera paupertas est in religione, ubi non est substantie nec corporis proprietas, nec operis nec quietis libertas, et talis quedam maior, quedam vero minor: maior ut in illis qui nichil habent proprium et etiam tenues sunt in communi, minor ut (in) illi(s), qui nichil habent proprium et tamen habent divitias in communi.'

[2] Michael of Meaux (see *ante*, p. 7), *Opera S. Bonaventurae*, i. 134: 'Vera paupertas consistit ibi, ut non sit substantiae vel corporis proprietas, nec operis nec quietis libertas, ut illi qui sunt in claustro, quia nec habent substantiam nec operis libertatem, nec laborem, quando volunt, nec quietem.'

[3] K. Wood-Legh, 'Some aspects of the history of chantries in the later middle ages', *ante*, xxviii. 48.

[4] *Salisbury Charters* (Rolls Series), p. 136; Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 635. See C. R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (1941), pp. 65–7.

sing sequences in Lent, and some against the canons, as do those who refuse to follow the use of their cathedral church.[1]

It has been pointed out to me that a standardized liturgy for the Dominican Order was in process of formation in the very years when Bacon was teaching. The nature of the liturgical customs of the early Dominicans has been much disputed. At length, in 1245/6, a commission of four friars, one of them probably an Englishman, was entrusted with the task of drawing up a liturgy for the whole Order. The work of the commission, after being approved by the chapters of 1246–8, was referred back in the chapter held at London in 1250.[2] The claims of local uses may have been difficult to reconcile with uniformity. Bacon's concern with current liturgical practices gains in interest against this background. Gratian's *Decretum* prescribes that the use of the metropolitan church is to be followed.[3] I cannot find any other reference to the peculiarly cheerful sin, condemned by Bacon, of chanting sequences during the penitential season of Lent.

Moralists regarded drunkenness as a characteristic vice of thirteenth-century Englishmen. Bacon reproves those persons who hold drinking bouts on the greater festivals, and who think that they are not celebrating a feast properly unless they tipple and get drunk, so as to make a lustier noise in church.[4] He also criticizes the blasphemous language of hired troops (*ribaldi*) whose shameful oaths tear the Deity limb from limb.[5]

[1] The passage, which I have abridged in translation, reads: 'Alii cantantes manus suas levant in nomine nummi, ut illi qui sacramentum altaris . . . vendunt pro aliquo questu temporali et (*ut* in MS.) illi qui pascuntur pro una vel pro pluribus [vel in annalibus vel tricennalibus, sicut sacerdotes conductivi sive conductitii, qui pascuntur pro officio suo . . . Quidam peccant in intentione, ut illi qui cantant tantum ut placeant mulieribus. Alii peccant contra institutionem misse, ut illi qui cantant sequentias in quadragesima, vel ut illi qui faciunt annalia vel tricennalia pro nummis (? *unus* in MS.). Iterum alii peccant contra canones, ut illi qui nolunt sequi usum cathedralis ecclesie.' (MS. Bodley 745, pp. 328–9). Neither this text nor Ps. xxviii. 8 is expounded by John of Abbeville.

[2] W. R. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (New York, 1944), p. 92. I have to thank Fr. Gy of Le Saulchoir for this reference.

[3] Prima pars, dist. xii, c. 13; Tertia pars, de cons., dist. ii, c. 31.

[4] MS. Bodley 745, p. 365: 'Hic aperte reprehunduntur qui in magnis solempnitatibus conquinationes faciunt et non credunt se bene facere festum nisi ingurgitantur et inebrientur, ut fortius possint clamare in ecclesia. . . .' John of Abbeville merely mentions 'peccata et vitia in eis (solemnitatibus) facta, luxuriam et gulam et huiusmodi'.

[5] MS. Bodley 745, p. 264 (on Ps. xxxiii. 14): 'Per idola designantur inutilia iuramenta de Deo facta et contumeliose iurationes in opprobrium Dei facte, sicut iurant ribaldi, qui Deum membratim ore impudentissimo lacerant et discerpunt.' John of Abbeville makes a less particularized reference to swearing here. *Ribaldi* was used in a technical sense for mercenaries in the earlier thirteenth century; see Rigord, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, *op. cit.*, p. 95, and *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis cisterciensis*

In this he reminds me of another Oxford Dominican, Simon of Hinton, who lectured on Scripture between 1248 and 1254. The conduct of *ribaldi* distressed Simon too.[1] It was, of course, notorious; but I have not found it mentioned by other commentators. In another place, Bacon recalls Mathew Paris's story of his sermon to Henry III by contrasting the ways of good and bad princes. The text *Save me from the lion's mouth* (Ps. xxi. 22) suggests to him the rapacity of bad rulers towards their subjects, particularly when times are good; they are more forbearing in time of adversity.[2] It may be significant that Bacon's remarks about princes are an addition to his source. He is speaking too generally, however, to throw any light on his attitude to current politics.

Bacon's commentary differs from John of Abbeville's in containing three theological *quaestiones*. One of them arises from the *Greater Gloss* of Peter Lombard on the words *Deus in sancto via tua* (Ps. lxxvi. 14). Here *in sancto* is interpreted as *in Christo*, with a reference to the text of the Fourth Gospel: 'Ego sum via, veritas et vita. Nemo venit ad patrem nisi per me.'[3] (Ioh. xiv. 6). This suggests a theological difficulty. If Christ were, for himself as man, the *way* of coming to God the Father, then since the *way* is prior to the end of the way, the Son would have existed in himself before he existed in the Father. But, on the contrary, the Son is in the Father and the Father in the Son from all eternity. Bacon solves the problem dialectically, by a *distinctio*: 'aliud est esse in patre et aliud esse ad patrem'; he explains and gives his reasons.[4]

Similarly he goes into the theological implications of the

(ed. J-M. Canivez, Louvain, 1933–6), i. 509: the Prior of Cour-Dieu insulted a party of lay brothers on their way to a general chapter in 1219 by calling them *ribaldi*.

[1] B. Smalley, 'Two biblical commentaries of Simon of Hinton', *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, xiii (1946), 63–4, n. 10–11.

[2] MS. Bodley 745, pp. 226–7: 'Moraliter tamen nomine leonis intelligitur princeps. Sed nota quod quidam est leo domitus, per quem intelligitur bonus princeps, quidam vero indomitus, per quem intelligitur malus princeps, quattuor de causis. Leo enim rugit, ita et malus princeps per superciliosa et crudelia dicta. Item leo rapit, ita malus princeps bona pauperum . . . Item leo in estate febricitat et sanus est in hieme, ita et malus princeps impatiens est tempore estatis et prosperitatis, sed in hieme, i.e. in adversitate, sanus est, i.e. patiens.'

[3] Migne, *Pat. lat.*, cxci. 717–18.

[4] MS. Bodley 745, p. 352: '. . . Esse in patre est eiusdem esse substantie cum patre, et hoc (Christus) semper fuit. Esse ad patrem est frui potioribus bonis patris in quantum homo. Sed hoc prius fuit in se quam esset ad patrem. Iterum sicut lumen ostendit se et alias res, et sicut naturaliter prius est in oculo ante comprehensionem, et ita in quantum ostendens prius, et in quantum ostenditur posterius, ita Christus prius naturaliter fuit in via veniendi ad patrem quam esset ad patrem. Merito ergo *Deus*, pater, *in sancto via tua*. . . .'

text *Incensa igni, et suffosa . . . peribunt* (Ps. lxxix. 17). This was constantly quoted by theologians in their discussions of the nature of sin, because St. Augustine, in his commentary on the Psalms, had interpreted *the things* which *shall perish* as sins; he referred the words *set on fire* to greed and the words *dug down* to fear, which were the two roots of sin.[1] The statement had to be reconciled with another authoritative text: *Radix omnium malorum cupiditas* (1 Tim. vi. 10), with which St. Augustine, in another passage, seemed to be in agreement. Did sin arise from both greed and fear, or only from greed? The problem figures in the section called *De modis peccatorum* in commentaries on the *Sentences*. Bacon has his own way of harmonizing the two conflicting authorities. The fear which causes sin itself springs from desire, just as greed does: the desire to be left in peace.[2]

Bacon's third *quaestio* must be considered in another connexion. The interest of these two passages lies not in the doctrine, since they are very short, but in the form. They are perfect *quaestiones*, comprising thesis, objection, arguments *pro* and *contra*, and solution. The presence of theological *quaestiones* in so-called sermons brings up the whole problem of teaching methods at Oxford. Twelfth-century commentaries on Scripture had usually been quite unspecialized. They had contained both doctrinal teaching, often in *quaestio* form, and moral exhortation. The Paris masters, about the turn of the century, began to adopt a more specialized approach. They tended to exclude theological *quaestiones* from their lectures on Scripture in order to concentrate on exegesis and on moral teaching. Doctrinal discussion was detached from its biblical framework and put into lectures on the *Sentences*. This is the outline of development as sketched by Mandonnet.[3] My impression is that in general his scheme holds good for Paris commentaries of the early thirteenth century, though I have found certain exceptions. At what date did the Oxford masters switch over to the new, specialized method in use at Paris?

Our evidence for their practice is contradictory. The Dominican master, Fishacre, describes the new method with approval in the prologue to his commentary on the *Sentences*,

[1] *Pat. lat.* xxxvi. 1026.

[2] MS. Bodley 745, p. 368: 'Ad hoc respondendum quod hii qui peccant ex timore, ideo faciunt que non deberent, quia esse in pace volunt, et hoc appetunt. Similiter in dolore nimio est appetitus contra dolorem, ut pacem haberet ipse dolens, sensus impatiens. . . .'

[3] See his introduction to the *Quaestiones disputuatae* of St. Thomas Aquinas (Lethielleux, 1925) i. 4 ff.

which he produced about 1240–3.[1] The modern masters, he says, teach that part of sacred doctrine which is concerned with moral instruction when they lecture on Scripture; the other part, as being more difficult, is kept for disputation. This more difficult part has been taken from Scripture and put into the book called the *Sentences*.[2] Robert Grosseteste had thrown all the weight of his influence as a teacher on the side of the older method, treating theology as a part of exegesis, and he continued to favour it after he became chancellor.[3] The Dominican, Simon of Hinton, who was teaching between 1248 and 1254, and the Franciscan, Thomas Docking, about a decade later, have both left us lectures on various books of the Bible which contain long and discursive theological *quaestiones*. Neither seems to have the slightest intention of confining himself to moral instruction.[4] Then Roger Bacon, writing in 1266 and 1267, laments the passing of the good custom, observed by Grosseteste, Adam Marsh and other wise men of old, by which theological questions were attached to the text of Scripture.[5] It is difficult to reconcile all this with the statement of Fishacre, who seems to assume that the new method had been adopted by the early 'forties. Robert Bacon increases the difficulty, since he, too, is treading firmly in the old paths. And a study of his sources suggests a deliberate policy in this respect. There are no *quaestiones* in John of Abbeville's commentary, as we know it. There are none in Philip the Chancellor's work on the Psalms. In fact, one has to go back to Peter the Chanter and to Michael of Meaux, commenting on the Psalter in the 1170's and '80s, to find any parallel.[6] If Robert Bacon had no *quaestiones* in his source, he must have reintroduced them of set purpose.

[1] See D. A. Callus, 'Introduction of Aristotelian learning to Oxford', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxix (1943), 32.

[2] MS. Oxford, Balliol College 57, fo. 4r: 'Verumptamen altera pars, scil. de moribus instruendis, a magistris modernis cum legentur sancti libri docetur; alia, tanquam difficilior, disputationi reservatur. Hec autem pars difficilior, de canone sanctarum scripturarum excerpta, in isto libro qui sententiarum dicitur ponitur.'

[3] A. G. Little, 'The Franciscan School at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, xix (1926), 808.

[4] A. G. Little, 'Thomas Docking' in *Franciscan Papers* (1943), pp. 98–121; B. Smalley, *op. cit.*, pp. 77–8.

[5] *Opus minus* (corrected text quoted by A. G. Little, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, xix [1926]. 809); *Opus tertium* (Rolls Series), p. 82.

[6] *Quaestiones* occur in the Chanter's commentary on the Psalter, as in his other commentaries; see B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, pp. 171–3. I have found three *quaestiones* in the commentary of Michael of Meaux, *Opera S. Bonaventurae*, i. 146, 149–50, and MS. Oxford, New College 36, fos. 45v, 46r, 62v, 63r.

Our conflicting evidence must point to a conflict of opinion at Oxford. It suggests a movement, supported by Fishacre, to adopt the Paris method, and, on the other side, a stubborn resistance, a conservative and even reactionary clinging to the older, unspecialized teaching of theology combined with exegesis. The upholders of tradition seem to have stood their ground, in spite of Fishacre, until the 'sixties, when Roger Bacon acknowledged their passing. Robert Bacon and Simon of Hinton show that conservative feeling was strong in the Dominican, not only in the Franciscan Order.

Robert Bacon also marks an early stage in the reception of the new Aristotle. When he quotes 'the Philospher', he may mean, not the Greek, but Seneca,[1] or Boethius,[2] or even the Book of Wisdom.[3] Aristotle is usually referred to by his own name. Bacon quotes, in order to moralize, a passage about sheep from the *Historia animalium*. It seems to be repeated from memory, since it is not verbally identical with Michael Scot's translation.[4] A reference to the *Ethica vetus* (Books I and II of the *Nichomachean Ethics*) is interesting because it suggests that Bacon had read a commentary beside the text. He says:

> . . . huiusmodi homines, qui sunt luxurie et immunditiis dediti carnalibus, abombinabiles sunt, de quibus dicit Aristotles in ethicis quod non sunt sicut homines, sed sicut animalia (MS. Bodley 745, p. 255).

The Latin text of the *Ethica vetus*, with the Greek commentary in Grosseteste's translation, reads:

> *Propter quod dicuntur isti castrimargi, ut preter indigens implentes eam (ventrem). Tales autem fiunt qui multum bestiales.* . . . Talia autem sunt et irrationalia animalia, edendi avida,

[1] MS. Bodley 745, p. 243: 'De qua lege dicit philosophus: hos nobis posuit terminos lex nature, non esurire, non sitire, non algere.' Cf. Seneca, *Ep.*, 4. 10.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 377: 'Unde philosophus: cum utraque fortuna sit timenda, magis timenda est prospera quam adversa.' Cf. Boethius, *Philos. Cons.*, ii. 8.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 252: 'Quod autem vita hominis sit quasi umbra testatus (est) philosophus, dicens: umbra vero quasi transitus vite nostre.' Cf. Sap. ii. 5.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 341–2: 'Sunt oves validi et fortes, quarum valitudinis signum est, ut dicit Aristoteles in libro de natura animalium, quod valide oves in tempore nimis frigoris non portant super se stillicidia nec nivem in dorso, sed fortiter se excutientes nivem a se repellunt. Eodem modo spiritualiter se fortes. . . .' Cf. *Hist. anim.* viii. 10, and Michael Scot's translation, MS. Oxford, Balliol College 252, fo. 46r.

propter quod et homines tales bestiales, et qui circa venerea turbulentes (MS turbulenti), luxuriosi (MS. Oxford, Balliol College 116, fos, 65v, 66r).[1]

Grosseteste's translation of the Greek glosses was only begun in the years 1240–9 [2] ; but the *Ethica vetus* was being lectured on in the arts faculty at Paris between 1230 and 1240.[3] Bacon may have used some simple Latin gloss even if he had not access to the new work of Grosseteste.

Modern scholars are making an intensive study of the thirteenth-century reaction to Aristotle's theory of knowledge, which conflicted with the traditional Augustinian teaching on the illumination of the human intellect by God. Bacon raises the question on the text ' Thou hast taught me, O God, from my youth ' (Ps. lxx. 17). God alone can truly be said to *teach* interiorly, by his illumination of the understanding ; human masters teach by merely external means. What then, asks Bacon, shall we say to the Philosopher's statement that understanding is exercised by the psyche, while sense perception comes from without ; hence the exercise of the understanding is a voluntary, and sense perception an involuntary process ? This is a clear allusion to Aristotle's *De anima*, ii. 5. Bacon recalls the boast which the Psalmist has put into the mouth of the proud : ' Who have said : We will magnify our tongue ; our lips are our own. Who is Lord over us ? ' He feels that he has now disposed of Aristotle and goes on to set forth the Augustinian view.[4] The passage may well have been abbreviated, and one would not expect to find a detailed discussion of theories of knowledge in a work of this kind. All the same, Bacon's attitude strikes me as uncompromising. He opposes St. Augustine to Aristotle as sharply as possible and does not want to reconcile them. One catches his gasp of horror at the impiety of Aristotelian psychology.

We seem to have struck another patch of conservatism. The early Oxford Dominicans show a queer blend of resistance and receptivity to new lines in thinking and teaching. Richard Fishacre is the most progressive. His commentary on the *Sentences* testifies to his deep interest in the new metaphysics and he favours the process of specialization. His successor, Simon of Hinton, prefers the traditional teaching method ;

[1] See S. Harrison Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste* (1940), pp. 68–9, and C. Marchesi, *L'Etica Nichomacea nella tradizione latina medievale* (Messina, 1904), p. xxv.

[2] D. A. Callus, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[3] O. Lottin, ' Un commentaire sur l'Ethica vetus des environs de 1230–1240 ', *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, vi (1934), 84–8.

[4] See Appendix I (below, p. 17).

but Simon is full of promise as an exegete. He anticipates the Franciscan, Thomas Docking, in bringing the new natural science, and his own personal observation, to bear on the interpreting of his text. Robert Bacon, the eldest of the three Friars Preacher, is conservative in his teaching methods and he rejects the new psychology out of hand; but he is already illustrating his points from the *Ethics* and the *De animalibus*.

Dr. Little has dwelt on the mixture of antiquated and modern, judged by thirteenth-century standards, that characterized Roger Bacon's outlook. Roger combined a passionate interest in natural science and in scientific experiment with hatred of the new Thomist philosophy and of the teaching of theology as a separate subject. He sums up in himself a tradition of struggle, which, as we now see, had been going on for a generation within both Orders. Robert Bacon's commentary on the Psalter has thrown light on an early phase of the struggle; so Robert, perhaps, may contribute something to our understanding of Roger.

APPENDIX I

De doctrina Dei

MS. Bodley 745, p. 330.

Deus docuisti me a iuventute mea, etc. Solus Deus interius docet per illuminationem intellectus; magistri docent exterius (MS. interius). Quid ergo dicemus ad hoc quod dicit philosophus, quod intellectus sunt ab anima, sensus vero ab exterioribus; unde anima intelligit quando vult et sentit quando non vult? [1] Item videtur hoc quod dicit philosophus concordare ei quod dicitur in psalmo: labia nostra a nobis sunt, etc.[2] Item dicit Augustinus in libro retractationum, ubi queritur de magistro: et invenitur magistrum non esse qui doceat hominem scientiam, nisi Deum, secundum illud in Mat. xii: Nolite vocari magistri; unus est enim magister vester in celis.[3] Super hoc dicit Ieronymus: unus est qui illuminat hominem, quod alius homo non facit, sed tantum exercet docendo et non intellectum prestat.[4]

Ad hoc dicimus quod Deus dicitur pater et magister natura, homo indulgentia, i.e. pietate eius. Sicut enim sol materialis illuminat visum, ad hoc ut ipse videatur et alie res corporales, sic sol iustitie illuminat intellectum et ad hoc ut ipse videatur et alie res spirituales, et ideo ei principaliter attribuendum est nomen magistri. Ideo dicit vir iustus, qui loquitur in psalmo: *Deus docuisti me a iuventute mea.*

[1] *De anima*, ii. 5, 417b.

[2] Ps. xi. 5. See *Glossa Ordinaria, ad loc.*: 'lactant se de potestate labiorum, quasi non a Deo acceperint.' The boast was traditionally referred to pagan philosophers; cf. Michael of Meaux, *Opera S. Bonaventurae*, i. 146: 'Quidam attribuunt sibi temporalia. . . quidam naturalia, ut philosophi, qui dicunt: labia nostra a nobis sunt.'

[3] Augustine, *Libri Retractationum duo*, i. 12. The text is from Mt. xxiii. 8–10. The chapter number given in the manuscript is probably a copyist's mistake, since Bacon normally uses approximately the modern chapter division.

[4] *Glossa Ordinaria, ad* Mt. xxiii. 9.

APPENDIX II

Four *Reportationes* (?) of Commentary on Ps. xxxi. 5

John of Abbeville

S. Anton. Pad. *Op*, (M.A.B.P.) I, vi. col. 709

. . . Quomodo etiam sit confitendum dicitur in Iob: *Quapropter non parcam ori meo; loquar in amaritudine anime mee* (vii. 11). Hic est modus confitendi. Siquidem ori suo parcit, qui enormia commisit, et hoc nomen enormitatis non vult nominare. Unde si quis adulterium commisit, non dicit: adulter sum; imo dicit: locutus sum cum muliere marita. Non dicit: sum raptor, sum latro; imo dicit: habui aliena.[1]

Et debet nominare peccatum absque circumlocutione et palliatione, ut confundatur confusione erubescentie, que multum valet ad veniam consequendam.

Et quia non sufficit, etiam ipsum peccatum exprimere, nisi cum dolore hoc faciat, sequitur: *loquar in amaritudine anime mee*. Confitens, siquidem, non ridendo sed in amaritudine anime sue et

John of Abbeville

MS. Bodley 727 (2691), fo. 35v

. . . Quomodo sit confitendum ostenditur Iob, vii, dicens: *Quapropter* . . .

. . . *anime mee* Siquidem ori non parcit, qui peccatum non pallians, sicut est, illud dicit. Ut si furatus est, dicit: sum latro. Non dicat, ut plerique faciunt: ego habui (aliena). Quia sic palliando confiteri, non est vera confessio.

Loquendum est in amaritudine, non iocando, non ridendo. . . .

John of Abbeville

MS. Bibl. nat. lat. 15571, fo. 25r

Quomodo confiteri debemus ostendit Iob, vii, dicens: *Non parcam* . . .

. . . *spiritus mei*. Bene dicit: *non parcam ori meo*. Sunt enim multi, qui enormia commiserunt, qui tamen confitentes nolunt peccata sua nomine peccati exprimere. Isti parcunt ori suo. Si enim quis de alieno surripuerit, non dicit: latro sum, cum tamen debeat dicere, non parcens ori. Si cognovit uxorem alterius, non dicit se esse adulterium, sed se cum uxore alterius esse locutum, et sic de alia. Isti parcunt ori suo cum nomine suo peccata enormia non exprimant.

Robert Bacon

MS. Bodley 745 (2764), p. 256

Quomodo autem sit confitendum, dicit Iob, vii: *Non parcam* . . .

. . . *spiritus mei*. Bene dicit: *non parcam ori meo*. Sunt enim multi, qui parcunt ori suo, nolentes peccata sua suo nomine nominare. Ut si fecerint furtum vel adulterium, vel aliquid grande peccatum, non dicunt: ego furtum feci, vel adulterium commisi, sed: loquutus sum cum desponsata et iocatus sum cum ea, vel: ego habui de re aliena, et ita de aliis. Sic non debet fieri confessio, sed ut magis nos pudeat, debemus peccatum ipsum sicut est nominare, et hoc est quod propheta dicit: *non parcam ori meo*.

contritione debet confiteri, ut sic faciat pacem cum Domino, quem per peccatum offendit.

Unde Isaias: *Ecce in pace amaritudo mea amarissima* (xxxviii. 17); quasi dicat: Si vis facere pacem cum Domino, sit amaritudo tua amara pro delectatione peccati, amarior pro consensu peccati, amarissima pro effectu perpetrationis.

Ecce in pace amaritudo mea amarissima

Vis pacem facere cum Domino? Sit tibi confessio tua amara pro peccatis cogitationis, amarior pro peccatis operis, amarissima pro peccato consuetudinis, et sic fit in tribulatione spiritus.

Sequitur: *loquar in amaritudine anime mee.* Huic consonat quod dicitur in Isaia: *Ecce in pace amaritudo mea amarissima,* ac si diceret unicuique: si vis pacem habere, oportet quod sis in amaritudine, recordando peccata tua. Debet autem peccati recogitatio esse amara, propter peccatum cogitationis, amarior propter peccatum delectationis, amarissima propter peccatum sui per perpetrationem operis. Etenim quod competenter dicitur: *loquar in amaritudine etc,* contra illos qui ridendo et iocando confitentur peccata.

Sequitur: *loquitur in amaritudine anime mee.* Hoc iterum non faciunt aliqui, sed ridendo confitentur peccata sua, quod utique facere non deberent. Non enim pacificatur rex iratus, nisi cum cordis amaritudine fuerit peccator confessus, ut cum eodem propheta possit dicere: *Ecce amaritudo mea amarissima.* Ad hoc enim quod pacem habeat peccator cum Domino, oportet quod sit eius confessio amara pro cogitatione, amarior pro (con)sensu, amarissima pro operatione. Ideo dicit propheta: *loquar in amaritudine anime mee.*

Sequitur: *et confabulabor in tribulatione spiritus mei.* Siquidem cum aliquis egregium factum fecerit, in narrando confabulatur, et garrire delectatur, narrans omnes circumstantias. Ita debet confiteri penitens, de peccato confabulando, circumstantias autem non omittens.

Confabulari debet peccator, i.e. frequenter confiteri, sicut qui fecit aliquid egregium libenter loquitur, et etiam cicumloquitur.

Sequitur: *confabulabor in tribulatione spiritus mei,* quod signanter dictum est, quoniam si quis aliquod factum fecerit egregium, tota die garrit, nec aliquid omittit de facti circumstantia, quin totum enarret; sic confitens tota die peccatum suum reducendo ad memoriam, peccatum debet confabulari etiam cum sacerdote; unde nichil de circumstantiis omittat; et hic est modus confitendi.

Sequitur: *et confabulabor in tribulatione spiritus mei.* Per hoc notatur quod frequens et assidua debet esse confessio. Cum enim rex vel potens aliquis factum aliquod facit egregium aut magnum, nunquam cessat inde ad maiorem sui gloriam fabulari. Ita et nos per contrarium, cum aliquod peccatum magnum fecerimus, a confabulatione et confessione eius, i.e. quomodo et quando illud fecimus, et ab omnibus eius circumstantiis quas recolligere poterimus, nunquam cessare debemus.

[1] The printed text has *rapui*, which is clearly wrong.

PARTIES AND PARTY ORGANIZATION IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II

By Professor Andrew Browning, M.A., D.Litt., F.R.Hist.S.

Read 15 February 1947

The rise of political parties in the reign of Charles II was an inevitable consequence of the increase in the power and prestige of Parliament during the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth. By 1660 Parliament had advanced far beyond the stage at which it could be content with merely criticizing the Government, or presenting its more substantial grievances for the royal consideration. It was now prepared to express decided opinions on all matters of national concern, and even, though rather hesitatingly, to assume the direction of policy both at home and abroad. Within a few years Charles in a memorable speech was to give the Commons the severest rebuke of which he was capable for invading his most fundamental prerogative, that of making peace and war, and not merely desiring him 'to enter into such leagues as might be for the safety of the kingdom', but telling him 'what sort of leagues they must be, and with whom'.[1]

The exercise of new powers called for the development of new machinery. If Parliament was to proffer advice or direct policy with success, the first essential was that it should itself be organized, so that it might give its directions with one voice and in a reasonably consistent manner. But here difficulties immediately arose, for Parliament strongly objected to being organized, by anybody and for any purpose, and in this attitude it had the firm support of public opinion. Organization, it was felt, was incompatible with liberty, and few could contemplate with approval any restriction on the right of each individual to speak and vote precisely as he saw fit.

In these circumstances it was unfortunate that the initial step towards the development of a party organization had of necessity to be taken by the Crown. The king was still in theory, and to a large extent in fact, the ruler of the country, and if Parliament was now so powerful that its approbation was necessary for the effective exercise of his authority it was for him to devise the means by which that approbation might

[1] King's speech of 28 May 1677 in *Journals of the House of Commons*, ix. 426.

be secured. From the very beginning of the reign, in consequence, the leading ministers, with the approval of the king,

> had every day conference with some select persons of the House of Commons who had always served the king, and upon that account had great interest in that assembly, and in regard of the experience they had and their good parts were hearkened to with reverence; and with those they consulted in what method to proceed in disposing the House, sometimes to propose, sometimes to consent to, what should be most necessary for the publick, and by them to assign parts to other men whom they found disposed and willing to concur in what was to be desired; and all this without any noise, or bringing many together to design, which ever was and ever will be ingrateful to Parliaments.[1]

Lord Chancellor Clarendon, in fact, by methods as discreet and dignified as the language in which he speaks of them, united the older royalists in Parliament into the first Court party of the reign, and thus, as his efforts to disguise what he was doing proved increasingly unsuccessful, involved the Crown in all the odium attaching to this new and unpopular development. Organization on party lines was a device which was eventually to enable Parliament to control the king, but in its early stages the general impression was rather that it was a device enabling the king to control Parliament.

Had Clarendon's comparatively inoffensive methods continued to be pursued it is at least possible that popular opinion might have become reconciled to the existence of what it disparagingly termed 'cabals', and a healthy, if gradual, development of parties might have been the result. Other politicians, however, had neither Clarendon's caution, his reverence for the past, nor his honesty of purpose, and endeavoured to hasten matters in the supposed interests of the Court by having recourse to expedients of a much more doubtful character. In place of the older members of Parliament, whose deaths led to an unusually large number of by-elections in the early years of the reign,

> great pains were taken to have some of the king's menial servants chosen, so that there was a very great number of men in all stations in the Court, as well below stairs as above, who were members of the House of Commons.[2]

[1] *Life of Clarendon* (ed. 1759), ii. 344–5.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 344. For instances see *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1665–6, pp. 121, 313; 1670, p. 680.

At the same time 'gratifications' of every conceivable kind were distributed among existing members, and the personal influence of Charles was brought to bear on the royalists of the younger generation, 'country gentlemen of ordinary condition and mean fortunes', who could ill endure Clarendon's attitude that they 'were capable of no other instruction than to follow the example of some discreet man in whatsoever he should vote, and behave themselves accordingly'.[1]

By these means a second Court party was built up, which had little difficulty in supplanting the first Court party and bringing about the fall of Clarendon. Its nominal leader was its original inspirer, the Earl of Arlington; but the real work of organization was shared between its indefatigable secretary, Joseph Williamson, and its 'bribe-master-general', Sir Thomas Clifford.[2] That it was a genuinely effective organization was shown during the long parliamentary session of 1670–1, when it was instrumental in securing for the Crown additional supplies unparalleled throughout the reign. But this premature success in the difficult art of party organization was achieved at a heavy cost. The methods by which the party had been so quickly put together would hardly bear scrutiny; the practice on which its members were persuaded to embark, of voting solidly together, gave such offence that at one stage a group of its opponents withdrew from the House of Commons in protest[3]; and, as ill-luck would have it, the money which it voted was diverted to purposes so different from what the country desired that it could with some justice be accused of having betrayed the nation. In 1673 it was shattered beyond repair by the controversy over the Declaration of Indulgence and the Test Act, and not until two years later was its place taken by the third and most famous Court party of the reign, that organized by the Earl of Danby.

Meanwhile the whole problem of the organization of Parliament had been rendered infinitely more complicated by being confused with two associated but entirely different problems—on the one hand the purely temporary problem of redressing the inequalities and injustices of the Restoration settlement, on the other hand the perennial problem of the payment of members of Parliament.

Of these the temporary problem was the more serious and the more pressing. The Restoration settlement had of

[1] *Life of Clarendon*, ii. 344, 351.

[2] 'Cheife commissioner for the mannageing the bribe-money wherewith to buy votes in the Parliament Howse' (Harleian MSS. 7020, fo. 42). See also the paper headed 'The Alarum' in *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1668–9, pp. 541–2.

[3] Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 36916, fos. 166, 167.

necessity been a compromise. Some of the innumerable debts inherited from the preceding twenty years had been paid; others had not. Some of the royalists had had the property confiscated during these years restored to them, frequently at the expense of individual opponents, or had been compensated in some fashion for their losses; others, again, had not. Thus there existed on both sides, but principally on the royalist side, a large number of perfectly valid claims upon the Crown, which the king might or might not determine to satisfy. In the early years of his reign he satisfied many of them, not unnaturally showing most consideration for the small ring of courtiers and members of Parliament with whom he came frequently into contact; but he was never in a position to satisfy anything like all of them, and the meeting of one of these claims was thus a favour scarcely distinguishable from the 'gratifications' bestowed upon many members of Parliament without any justification at all. The recipient might argue, and indeed usually did argue, that whatever was given him involved a mere tardy and inadequate recognition of what was due; but the argument carried little weight with contemporaries who had heard it only too often, and who might well question in any case whether favours for which there was a justification were in any respect different in the effect they were likely to produce from favours for which there was none.

The problem of the payment of members was by comparison a small matter, and yet one involving serious issues. By the middle of the seventeenth century little trace remained of the medieval system, under which attendance on the king in Parliament had been a duty, which constituencies endeavoured to evade, and for the performance of which individual members were entitled to wages from their constituents. The right to send members to Parliament was now a privilege for which communities were beginning to petition; while membership itself had become so highly prized that the traditional wages, inadequate in any case by this time, were rarely exacted. Yet in actual fact, with the increasing frequency and duration of sessions, the burden imposed on the individual member by attendance had greatly increased, and a considerable number of those returned to Charles II's Parliaments, including representatives of families whose members had long been accustomed to serve in the Commons, were too impoverished to bear it. That such men should be assisted by the Government was not unreasonable, nor out of keeping with the ideas of the day, which were not yet in favour of confining membership

of Parliament to the wealthy classes; yet the line between any such assistance and plain bribery was apt to be faint indeed.[1]

Under the Commonwealth the practice had first been adopted of holding up to public scorn in printed pamphlets those members of Parliament who benefited unduly from the places or offices they held. The same practice was now continued on a more extensive scale. Lists of pensioners and placemen were compiled, with unfavourable comments attached to each name, and where these were not actually printed and published they were in all probability passed from hand to hand in manuscript.

Of these 'parliamentary *Who's Whos*'[2] only three have survived. The earliest, which has been entitled by its editor *Flagellum Parliamentarium*, was compiled in the spring of 1671 with the object of pillorying the second Court party, that of the so-called Cabal. The most famous, which may or may not be the work of Andrew Marvell, was compiled and published in the summer of 1677 under the title, *A Seasonable Argument to persuade all the Grand Juries in England to petition for a new Parliament*, and sought to perform the same service for the Court party of the Earl of Danby when at the height of its power. The last, compiled early in 1679 and entitled, *A List of one unanimous Club of Voters in his Majesties Long Parliament dissolved in 1678*, is, as the title implies, little more than a collection of names, those of the members of the same party in its last days.

It is immediately apparent that these documents must not be taken too seriously. They credit the Court party with a voting strength of approximately 178 in 1671, 215 in 1677, and 197 in 1679. But the figures of recorded divisions in the sessions involved show average totals for both sides combined of only 162, 237 and 265.[3] Clearly the 'unanimous club of

[1] It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the majority of the 'indigents' in Parliament were not, as their opponents were ever ready to insinuate, supporters of the Crown because they were indigent, but were indigent because they or their ancestors had been supporters of the Crown. To them it seemed a monstrous injustice that having lost all in the service of Charles I they should be debarred by that very fact from entering the service of Charles II, and they looked to the king to provide them with the means that would enable them to do so, in Parliament as elsewhere. Typical cases are those of Henry Clerke and Thomas Price, the essential facts of which are given in *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1671–2, p. 53; 1677–8, pp. 544–5. Sir Solomon Swale strikes a more modern note by claiming assistance on the ground that his attendance in Parliament has compelled him to give up his practice as a lawyer and so has deprived him of his livelihood (*ibid.*, 1665–6, p. 163; 1667–8, p. 445).

[2] David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, ii. 484.

[3] Wilbur C. Abbott, 'The Long Parliament of Charles II', *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxi. 54, 275, 281.

voters' and its predecessors cannot have been as active or as unanimous as their promoters must have wished, or they would have carried every division with the greatest ease.[1]

Equally clearly, and very naturally in the case of such party productions, the general conclusions which they skilfully insinuate cannot be accepted in the exaggerated form in which they are presented. Undoubtedly there was a scandalous amount of bribery, or what might more fairly be termed 'jobbery', in Parliament under Charles II. But it is not the case that all payments to members of Parliament were of the nature of bribes, that all pensions were without justification, that all place-holders voted mechanically at the bidding of the Government, or that large numbers supported the king who really sympathized with his opponents. On the whole, and with some conspicuous exceptions, members of Parliament appear to have spoken and voted much as their previous history and that of their families might lead one to expect. In so far as they were bribed at all they were bribed to be diligent in their business rather than to be false to their convictions. 'You were not against me to-day,' inquired the king of John Hervey after an important debate in the House of Commons. 'No, Sir,' was the reply, 'I was against my conscience to-day.' The story, told originally by Bishop Burnet,[2] has been repeated much too often, and has acquired a significance which the facts do not warrant. All it really proves is that at the court of Charles II there were some very witty men.

The crucial problems are the precise nature of the large gifts or 'boons' which are declared to have been so freely bestowed on members of Parliament, and the extent to which office-holders could be compelled to obey the directions of the Government. The former cannot in every case be checked, but there is ample evidence that a large proportion of them were nothing more than payments for services rendered either by the recipients or by their ancestors. The knight marshal, Sir Edmund Wyndham, is said to have received 'in boons £5,000;' but he claimed to have lost in the service of the king no less than £50,000. Sir William Bassett is similarly said to have received £1,000; but he claimed that his father's

[1] During the seventeen years of the Cavalier Parliament's existence the House of Commons divided on 536 occasions. The average number of members taking part in the divisions was 195, and the largest number 371. Only on three occasions did the number exceed 350, and only on forty-seven occasions did it exceed 300. Politicians at the time seem to have considered, and to have been justified in considering, that a voting strength of approximately 200 was as much as they could possibly require. The very highest figure at which Danby ever aimed appears to have been 250.

[2] *History of My Own Time*, ed. Osmund Airy, ii. 80–1.

losses and sufferings amounted to £10,000, and that he had himself expended £1,358 on efforts to bring about a restoration before 1660.[1]

As regards office-holders no rigid regimentation was even attempted under Charles II. The 'king's servants' were undoubtedly expected to support the king, and indeed were constantly urged to do so. But it is abundantly clear that they repeatedly neglected their duty without suffering in any way.[2] Dismissal was the penalty, not of failure to support the king, but of gratuitous opposition to him, and even for that was rarely inflicted. The very consternation produced by dismissals is evidence how infrequent they were.

Moreover in many cases it was legally beyond the king's power either to dismiss, or, on a vacancy occurring, to appoint. A surprisingly large number of officials had been given their places for life, and enjoyed in consequence much the same independence as reformers were claiming for the judges. Others held places which were in the gift of higher officials, and could not be interfered with unless these higher officials were themselves subjected to pressure. Despite his bitter criticism of the Government in the last years of the Cavalier Parliament, Colonel Birch could not be dismissed from his post of Auditor of the Excise, for not only had he been given the place for life, but his son had been appointed, also for life, in reversion after him.[3] Gilbert Burnet could not be dismissed from his place as preacher at the Rolls Chapel, for he owed his appointment to Sir Harbottle Grimston, the Master of the Rolls, and Grimston himself could not be dismissed.[4] Danby would willingly have got rid of Sir Robert Howard, the Auditor of the Exchequer, who was a constant thorn in his flesh; but Howard had received his appointment for life in Clifford's time,[5] and the only way of securing his dismissal appeared to be to bring a criminal charge against him. At Danby's instigation he was accused of conspiring with the Tellers of the Exchequer to defraud the king by exhibiting, as money, bags which had only a little money on top and lead blanks below.[6] The charge appears to have been fully substantiated before the king in Council; yet even then Howard was not dismissed.

[1] *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1667–8, pp. 199–200; 1670, p. 530.
[2] *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, ed. A. Browning, pp. 139–41.
[3] *Cal. Treas. Books*, iv. 5, 24.
[4] 'The Court thought me a man of that consequence that they sent first a bishop and then a secretary of state to prevail with him to dismisse me, but he was not to be moved in the matter' (Burnet's Autobiography in *A Supplement to Burnet's History of My Own Time*, ed. H. C. Foxcroft, p. 484).
[5] *Cal. Treas. Books*, iv. 83.
[6] *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1677–8, pp. 368, 448.

Thus the sordid side of party organization was not really as sordid as it was made to appear, and it was by no means the only side. Party leaders were intent on building up as large a following as possible in as short a time as possible, and with that end in view used any means, good or bad, which seemed likely to be effective. Such modern methods as the issue of a statement of policy were by no means neglected. Clarendon announced his policy in his speeches to Parliament as Lord Chancellor. Danby did the same in his Non-resisting Test Bill, which was intended much more as a declaration of a new Government policy than as a blow at an opposition which as yet scarcely existed. Shaftesbury far surpassed both Clarendon and Danby, laying down in the pamphlets which he wrote or inspired what, even by modern standards, might be regarded as a complete party platform. But these methods did not quite meet the needs of the seventeenth century, when policy was still on the whole conceived of as something within the sphere of the king, and what was required was not so much a policy which large numbers could approve as a reason why they should take the novel step of uniting to support any policy at all. One kind of union could be found in common interests based upon pensions and places derived from the same source; but another and more healthy kind of union could be found in similarity of outlook based upon family and local associations.

All party leaders, in consequence, when building up their following, summoned their relatives to their assistance, placing their chief reliance on those nearest to them. Clarendon, as Chancellor of Oxford, nominated his second son Laurence as one of the members for the University,[1] secured the return of his eldest son Henry, and his cousin, another Laurence, for Wiltshire and Winchester respectively, and used all three as his spokesmen in the Commons. Arlington similarly relied on his brother, Sir John Bennet, and his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Carr. Shaftesbury brought his son into the Commons, and tried, unsuccessfully, to bring in his brother. But in this sphere Danby went far beyond all his predecessors. Towards the close of the Cavalier Parliament he had in the House of Commons two sons, one brother, three brothers-in-law, one son-in-law and a host of more distant relatives, all of them devoted to his interests.

Closely associated with the family groups which were thus developed were the wider and much more important local groups of which they often formed the core. Of the many

[1] *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1660–1, p. 275.

factors which determined the course of party developments under Charles II none was more influential than the provincial patriotism responsible for the persistence of the English shire as a unit of political and social organization. Outside the comparatively small circle of those who frequented London a man's 'country' was his shire, and his 'countrymen' were his immediate neighbours there, who spoke the same language as he spoke and had much the same interests and ideas. In spite of bitter local factions each shire had a genuine unity of its own, and the party leaders in consequence found it to their interest to seek the support, not so much of individuals or constituencies, as of shires. Like the Civil War of the reign of Charles I the party struggle of the reign of Charles II was a series of struggles within individual shires, in the course of which the national leaders endeavoured to secure the support of the appropriate faction in each shire and then to foster that faction at the expense of its rival.

This, however, involved a close study of the political map of England, for the shires were by no means equal in importance. Not merely did they vary in size and wealth from Rutland with less than 100,000 acres and an assessment of £240 to Yorkshire with nearly 4,000,000 acres and an assessment of £3,469, but owing to the anomalies of the representative system the variations between them were sometimes reduced, sometimes exaggerated, in Parliament. At one end of the scale was Cornwall, with 44 representatives in the House of Commons, although on a basis of wealth or population it should have had only 11. At the other end of the scale was Middlesex, with 8 representatives, when on the same basis it should have had 55. Of the fifty-two shires in England and Wales ten returned 258 members to the House of Commons, or more than half the total, and of the ten shires seven returned 208 members, or more than two-fifths of the total. Thus the object of the more astute party leaders was not simply to win over shires in general, but by concentrating their efforts to win over those particular shires or groups of shires whose support would be most valuable.

Of the 'key' areas which specially attracted their attention the most important lay in the south-west, where a solid block of four counties—Cornwall, Devon, Dorset and Wiltshire—together returned 124 members to Parliament, almost exactly one quarter of the entire House of Commons and twice as many as these counties on any reasonable basis were entitled to. At the very beginning of the reign Clarendon entrusted the management of the following he at once began to build

up to the veteran Sir Hugh Pollard, who not only had 'a greater party in the House of Commons willing to be disposed of by him than any man that ever sat there' in Clarendon's time, but also 'had in truth a very particular influence upon all the Cornish and Devonshire men.'[1] Arlington, on setting out to supplant Clarendon, chose as the leader of his rival organization the young Devonshire squire, Thomas Clifford, who succeeded both to Pollard's position as Comptroller of the Household and to his local influence, and eventually used his position at Court and in the south-west to enable him in turn to supplant Arlington. Shaftesbury endeavoured to build upon the influence of the Ashleys and Coopers in Dorset, and during his period of office as Lord Chancellor even went so far as to issue on his own authority writs for filling vacant seats in Parliament, for no other apparent reason than that of the thirty-six seats to be filled no fewer than fourteen were in this area. Danby made use of the head of an ancient Cornish family, Sir John Copplestone, who had been one of Cromwell's captains and presumably was acquainted with opposition circles in the four counties; but his real reliance was placed rather on his old friend Edward Seymour, who had great influence in Devon, and on his relative by marriage, the Earl of Bath, who had even greater influence in Cornwall.

Second in importance as a 'key' area only to the south-west was the south-east, where Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire and Berkshire, together with the Cinque Ports, returned 95 members to the House of Commons, nearly one-fifth of the total number, and approximately thirty per cent more than these counties were entitled to. Unlike the south-west, however, this area tended to be not so much a battle-ground of rival politicians as a preserve of the Court. In or near it the king normally resided. Within its limits he made most of his progresses, which were not purely pleasure trips, for while Charles had undoubtedly a great love of the sea it is remarkable how often the breezes he encountered thereon wafted him into ports well represented in Parliament. In Kent and Surrey leading officials were coming to an increasing extent to have their country residences. The dockyard towns were much under Government influence. In each of the Cinque Ports the Lord Warden, for long the Duke of York, had a courtesy right of nominating one member.

Least important among the 'key' areas was the north, where some of the counties were even more scandalously over-

[1] *Life of Clarendon*, ii. 351, 354.

represented than those of the south-west. Cumberland and Westmorland had six and four members of Parliament respectively, when their resources would have entitled them only to one each; Lancashire had fourteen when it should have had eight; Northumberland eight when it should have had three. But these in a parliamentary sense were all small counties. The only large county in the north, Yorkshire, in spite of its thirty members, was not seriously over-represented, and the six northern counties in consequence attracted less attention from politicians than might have been anticipated.

There is just a suggestion that Arlington, who had no strong territorial connexion of his own, at one time considered the possibility of building up an interest in the north. A proposal that representation in Parliament should be accorded to the county and city of Durham was strongly opposed by the bishop on the ground that the county's freedom from the burden of representation was a high privilege which he was bound by his oath of office to maintain.[1] Later, however, bishop and Government seem to have reached an agreement over the matter, the bishop withdrawing his opposition in return for a recognition of his right to recommend the new members, and at the same time accepting as one of them Arlington's secretary and principal man of affairs, Joseph Williamson. Twice already Williamson had endeavoured to secure a seat in the north, at Morpeth and at Preston, and on the eventual failure of the Durham agreement he was to be supported more strongly than ever by Arlington at Appleby. But there also he was to find local interests too strong, and with his return to Parliament for Thetford in 1669 Arlington's scheme, if he ever had one, had to be abandoned.

Thus the only politicians who really found the basis of their power in the north were Buckingham and Danby. Buckingham relied on the influence he derived from his large landed estates there, and on the Presbyterian allies he acquired by his marriage with Mary Fairfax, daughter of the parliamentary general. Danby, as Buckingham's right-hand man, fell heir to much of Buckingham's authority, and added to it the influence he derived from the extensive connexions of his own family among the northern gentry. At the height of his power he was said to exercise the same sway in Yorkshire as Clifford had previously exercised in Devon.[2]

Complete control of any one of these 'key' areas would have given its possessor an extremely strong position; but

[1] *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1660–1, p. 435

[2] Anchitell Grey, *Debates of the House of Commons*, vi. 437.

this is more than any party leader ever achieved. In spite of the royalist tradition of the south-west, fostered since the beginning of the reign by Clarendon, Clifford and Danby in succession, Danby's chief party agent, Sir Richard Wiseman, could declare in 1676 that some nineteen of the forty-four representatives of Cornwall were Presbyterians of whom nothing could be hoped.[1] Thus the party leaders found it necessary to seek support in all shires where they had any prospect of success, and in this process the Court organizers found a weapon immediately ready to their hand in the chief shire official, the lord-lieutenant.

Like the king in national affairs, the lord-lieutenant in local affairs was the fountain of honour. His authority was neither independent nor despotic; but so long as he retained the favour of his sovereign, and maintained reasonably good relations with the gentry, he practically had at his disposal all deputy-lieutenancies, commissions in the militia, positions on the local bench and other distinctions on the enjoyment of which the credit of local dignitaries was apt to depend. Thus his influence, though indefinite and indirect, was immense, and one of the objects of the Court leaders was to restrict the lieutenancies as much as possible to members of their own following.

The circle from which lords-lieutenant could be drawn, however, was a small one, and even the shires to which each might be appointed were partly fixed by custom and local associations. At a later date James II was foolish enough to imagine that he could dismiss and appoint lords-lieutenant at will without impairing the authority of their office; but Charles II and his ministers realized that if they wished to secure control of the lords-lieutenant without destroying their influence they must proceed by a slow process of careful manipulation, the object of which should be not so much to get rid of the opponents of the Court as to confine them to the less important shires. Clarendon fully realized this; but he was so hampered by the circumstances of the Restoration that he could do little more than seize every chance of promoting sound royalists, and at the same time unostentatiously extend the influence of his own immediate associates. During his brief period of power he and his two chief allies, the Duke of Ormonde and the Earl of Southampton, held in their hands, either temporarily or permanently, the lieutenancies of Hampshire, Kent, Norfolk, Oxford, Somerset, Wiltshire and Worcester, seven counties returning no fewer than 126 members

[1] A. Browning, *Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby*, iii. 102.

to Parliament; but many of the counties remained to the end entirely outside his control.

Thus the real development of the system was the work, in more favourable circumstances, of the Earl of Danby, who alone ventured on a few actual dismissals, and profiting by the work of his predecessors brought together a coalition of local potentates reminiscent almost of the Middle Ages. At the height of his power he himself was lord-lieutenant of the West Riding of Yorkshire; his wife's brother, the Earl of Lindsey, was lord-lieutenant of Lincoln; his wife's half-brother, Lord Norris, was lord-lieutenant of Oxford; his wife's brother-in-law, Viscount Campden, was lord-lieutenant of Rutland; his wife's brother-in-law's eldest son, Edward Noel, was lord-lieutenant of Hampshire; his wife's cousin-german, Viscount Yarmouth, was lord-lieutenant of Norfolk; his fourth daughter's cousin by marriage, the Earl of Pembroke, was lord-lieutenant of Wiltshire [1]; and his fifth daughter's father-in-law, the Earl of Bath, was lord-lieutenant of Cornwall.

This may seem a formidable list, but it represents only the inner family ring of the complete coalition which Danby built up. His old friend and neighbour in the north, the Duke of Newcastle, was lord-lieutenant of Nottingham and Northumberland; his ally Bishop Compton's brother, the Earl of Northampton, was lord-lieutenant of Warwick; Newcastle and Bath together assured him of their relative the Duke of Albemarle, who was lord-lieutenant of Devon and Essex; and his long association with the Finch family similarly assured him of the Earl of Winchilsea, who was lord-lieutenant of Kent and Somerset. If to these may be added more doubtful allies such as Prince Rupert, who was lord-lieutenant of Surrey and Berkshire; the Duke of Monmouth, who was lord-lieutenant of Stafford and the East Riding of Yorkshire; Lord Poulett, who was lord-lieutenant of Dorset; and the Marquis of Worcester, who was lord-lieutenant of Gloucester, Hereford, Monmouth and the whole of Wales, it appears that Danby's coalition could exercise some influence over nearly 350 elections, while according to Danby's own calculations [2] the lords-lieutenant who might be considered hostile to himself or the Government numbered only 8, and the elections they could influence only 82.

The answer of the opposition to the influence exercised by

[1] Danby's rather distant relationship to Pembroke was more important than might at first sight appear, but his real connexion with him was based on the fact that Pembroke had married a sister of the Duchess of Portsmouth, Danby's chief supporter among the ladies of the Court.

[2] Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28088, fo. 3.

the lords-lieutenant in the country districts was to turn to their own advantage the weapon provided by trading connexions in the towns, and in this the organization which Shaftesbury developed late in the reign proved eminently successful. By a process akin to the nineteenth-century boycott, tradesmen who insisted on the enforcement of the Test and Corporation Acts were practically deprived of their livelihood, while at the same time ingenious methods of evading these Acts were invented and spread abroad.[1] Thus as the influence of the Court insensibly developed in the counties the influence of the opposition equally insensibly spread in the boroughs, and until the coming of Titus Oates a fair balance between parties was maintained. Both sides were using methods which find their explanation in local conditions, and this local element in party organization permeated everywhere. The party dinners at which the rank and file were regularly given instructions as to their conduct on the following day [2] were a development of the local dinner, at which members from the same district met to discuss their common interests. The practice of sending individual summonses to members of Parliament was due to the difficulty of persuading those in certain of the more distant localities to attend at all.[3] But most definitely local in origin and character was the last and most sinister of all the developments on the Court side, that of the Excise pensioners.

In origin these pensioners were members of the local gentry who had been concerned in the farm of their own local Excise, had been unable in that capacity to withstand the competition of the London financiers, and had been bought out by these financiers with promises of pensions on the Excise. When Clifford farmed the entire Excise to one group of financiers in 1673 it was asserted, possibly with some exaggeration, that that group alone, if successful in obtaining the farm, had undertaken to pay £20,000 a year by way of such pensions. Shortly after Clifford's resignation, in consequence, the king insisted that the farmers must add that sum to their annual rent, and declared that so far as the pensions were to be paid at all he would pay them thereafter himself.

From the very first Charles included among what were now his own pensioners one or two men who had not been associated with the farm of the Excise; but these were of

[1] The means used are fully illustrated in the letters of Williamson's local correspondents preserved among the State Papers.

[2] The statement, frequently made at the time, that each guest at the Court dinners found a guinea beneath his plate is without foundation.

[3] Browning, *Danby*, iii. 56–61.

much the same type as the others, and the general result was the establishment of a small group of Government dependants with marked characteristics of their own. They were all country gentlemen, with a wide experience of local affairs; they were scattered throughout a large number of counties, most of these being counties distant from the capital, to which the influence of the London financiers had been slow in penetrating; and with few exceptions they were members of Parliament.[1] Further, they were a secret body, for as they were taken over with the rent of the Excise they were paid directly out of that rent by way of secret service money, through the agency first of Sir Stephen Fox, the Paymaster of the Forces, and then of Charles Bertie, the Secretary to the Treasury. The author of the *Seasonable Argument* appears to have been unaware of their existence, and certainly did not know what their pensions were. In Parliament they were not prominent, though they may have done useful work as party whips; but they were just the men to maintain the necessary connexion between the Government, the House of Commons, and the half-organized opinion of individual counties, and it is for this purpose, apparently, that they were originally employed.

Unfortunately they were by no means restricted to this purpose, and by a natural though unfortunate process of development tended rapidly to become one of the worst features of the Court parliamentary organization. Granted that the necessary funds were available, the temptation to increase their number was almost irresistible. In the course of five years Danby certainly doubled, possibly trebled, and is said to have quadrupled it, while at the same time he allowed the original justification for the existence of this class of pensioner to fade into the background. The final attack of the opposition upon Court corruption, delivered at the close of the Parliament of 1679, has been reported both inadequately and inaccurately, but it appears to have been directed against two main features in the Court organization—on the one hand the Court dinners, which the opposition could scarcely object to on principle, as they held similar dinners themselves, but which they denounced on the ground that they were paid for with Government money; and on the other hand the Excise pensions, which they declared to have been given to many people who had no title to them, to be far too numerous, to be obvious

[1] Of the nineteen original pensioners fourteen were members of Parliament, and these were drawn from ten different shires, only three of which, Essex, Huntingdon and Hampshire, were within even moderate distance of London (*ibid.*, iii. 44–5).

bribes, in the sense that they were habitually paid just before parliamentary sessions were about to begin, and to be held, in some cases, under false names, which concealed the fact that several were enjoyed by one man. Positive proof of these assertions cannot be found, for Charles Bertie obstinately refused to give any information on the point; but there is little doubt that the charges were substantially true.

Thus the main features of party development in the reign of Charles II were on the one hand a slow and reluctant acceptance of the idea that party organizations, if not desirable, were at least unavoidable, and on the other hand a steady degeneration in the methods by which parties were put together. To a large extent these two features bear to each other the relation of cause and effect. Had opposition to parties been steady and consistent, they might not have originated at all at that time. On the other hand, had opposition to parties been abandoned, politicians would not have found it necessary to adopt discreditable methods of building them up. As it was, the reign of Charles II was responsible both for the parties and for the bad foundation on which they were too often built. Parties and foundation alike it was to pass on as an unhappy legacy to succeeding reigns.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LONDON AS A CENTRE OF CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

By F. J. Fisher, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

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Of all forms of historical writing, that which deals with particular places is perhaps the most pregnant with the possibilities of boredom, for the general reader can seldom hope to share the parochial enthusiasms by which the study of local history is so often inspired. But local history, and particularly urban history, can be approached from two different points of view. It can seek to portray the changing pattern of life within the few square miles which it takes for its field of study. Or it can endeavour to interpret that changing pattern as a symptom of greater changes in the nation as a whole. For, as the sociologists are never weary of reminding us, a town is essentially a social product. It is brought into being by forces external to it. It continues to exist because, and only so long as, it serves a social purpose. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the population of London and its immediate suburbs grew much more rapidly than the population of the country as a whole. Confronted by that fact, one of the obvious tasks of the historian is to make clear the purposes which that metropolitan expansion served; to indicate the wider developments of which it was a symptom; and to explain why, to contemporaries, it appeared as a symptom of disease rather than of health in the body politic. For that the growth of London was widely considered to be a morbid growth is incontestable. Topographers and chroniclers might write with admiration and affection of the city whose contours they described and whose history they told. But the pride of the city fathers was tinged with dismay at the problems of housing, public health and poor relief which they saw mounting before them. And outsiders were openly abusive. 'Soon,' wrote King James, whose dislike of the city was notorious, 'London will be all England', and for once he echoed the sentiments of a large proportion of his subjects.

The major reason for the growth of the metropolis is obvious enough, and needs to be mentioned merely in order to give the rest of the story some degree of perspective. Giovanni

Botero, the translation of whose work on the magnificence and greatness of cities is itself indicative of the rising interest in urban problems, confidently laid it down that the largest towns were always based on trade and usually built on the banks of navigable rivers.[1] To that generalization, London was clearly no exception. All contemporary descriptions emphasized its commercial importance. Most of them pointed out the degree to which that importance was due to the river on which the city stood. In that respect, the growth of London was a symptom both of the expansion of English trade as a whole and of the concentration of that trade upon the Thames. It was widely held to be a morbid symptom, for many contended that London waxed fat at the expense of the outports, and grew rich only by sucking the wealth of the country to itself. To explain that expansion and concentration and to examine that contention would, no doubt, be fruitful tasks, but would lead into more purely economic fields than that with which this paper is concerned.

For the city and its suburbs had a second function. Not only did they constitute a centre of production where substantial incomes were earned from industry and trade; they were also a centre of consumption where men expended the revenues which they had acquired elsewhere. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries a number of factors combined to swell the volume of that expenditure. Irrigated by the fertilizing tide of provincial money, the metropolitan economy not only expanded but began to bear new fruit. And to that extent the development of the capital became a symptom of something more than the nation's commercial progress. The factors which combined to produce that result are not far to seek. Botero postulated three conditions under which cities tend to develop as centres of consumption. Each of those conditions can be shown, not only to have existed in Tudor and Stuart London, but to have considerably increased in influence. In the first place,

> It doth infinitely availe to the magnifyinge and making Cities greate and populous [to have] the Residency of the Prince therein, . . . for wheare the Prince is resident there also the Parliaments are held and the supreame place of justice is kept. All matters of importance have recourse to that place, all Princes and all persons of account, Embassadores of Princes and of Common weales . . . make theire repaire thither . . . All such as aspire and thirst after offices and honors run thither

[1] G. Botero, *A Treatise Concerning the Causes of the Magnificencie and Greatness of Cities* (trans. R. Pearson, 1606), ch. x.

> overcome with emulation and disdaine at others. Thither are the revenues brought that appertain unto the state, and there are they disbursed out againe.[1]

Many years ago Professor Tout pointed out the importance in London history of the fact that the seat of government was established at Westminster.[2] As the policy of centralization increased the work of that government, and as the mounting extravagance of court life increased its social expenditure, so the significance of that fact grew.

In the second place, Botero insisted upon the economic implications of the law courts.

> Cities, that have Courts of Justice must needs be much frequented as well for concourse of people that have cause of Suite unto it as also for the execution of Justice. For it cannot be ministered without the help of . . . advocates, proctors, sollicitors, notaries and such like. Nay more than that (which it greeves me to think on) Expedition of justice cannot be made these our daies without ready money.[3]

Judicial history is a field in which a mere economic historian must obviously hesitate to tread, but at least there seems to be a prima-facie case for arguing that the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw a significant increase in the amount of judicial business conducted in the capital. Looking back from the later seventeenth century, Hales noted a long-term tendency for common law cases to be heard at Westminster rather than in the provinces. If the volume of extant records is any criterion, there was a substantial growth in the work of Chancery. Clearly, the age of the Tudors and early Stuarts was the heyday of the prerogative courts. And on two points, at least, contemporary comment leaves no room for doubt. The first was the growth in the number and wealth of London lawyers—a growth which it is difficult to explain except as the result of a similar growth in the volume of the business which they handled. The second was the vital importance to the economy of Westminster of the tide of men and money that flowed in with every term.

But it is Botero's third postulate that throws most light upon the factors which were operating to mould the pattern of London life.

> Experience teacheth that the residence of noblemen in cities makes them to be more glorious and more populous, not onely

[1] Botero, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[2] T. F. Tout, *The Beginnings of a Modern Capital; London and Westminster in the Fourteenth Century* (British Academy, Raleigh Lecture, 1923).

[3] Botero, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

> by cause they bring their people and their families unto it, but also more by cause a nobleman dispendeth much more largely through the accesse of friends unto him and through the emulation of others in a Citie where he is abiding and visited continually by honourable personages then he spendeth in the country where he liveth amongst the brute beasts of the field and converseth with plaine country people and goes apparelled among them in plain and simple garments.[1]

A significant feature of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was the increasing extent to which the revenues spent in London were the revenues of that junior branch of the nobility, the country gentry. If the rise of the squirearchy to social and political pre-eminence was a major theme of the history of those times, their growing urbanization was a minor theme upon which contemporary comment was abundant and which the historian cannot afford to ignore.

It was a curious development, for it sprang from two immediate causes that were contradictory, although in a sense they shared a common origin. By the early seventeenth century two streams of gentry can be seen converging upon the capital, the one carried along by its growing wealth, the other driven by its growing poverty. It was, no doubt, the former who inspired Hume's comment that ' could humanity ever attain happiness, the condition of the English gentry at this period might merit that appellation '. And Professor Tawney has recently shown how, faced by a secular rise in prices, a substantial section of that class not only held their own but raised themselves to new levels of affluence, partly at the expense of the Crown, the Church and the peerage whose estates they acquired, partly at the expense of the tenants whose rents they raised and whose faces they ground.[2] But as they acquired the estates of their betters, so they took on some of their social habits. As their revenues rose, so their eyes turned citywards and they established ever closer social contacts with the capital.

In many cases, those contacts began early in life for, by the early seventeenth century, London had become an important educational centre and more than one country squire obtained his first taste of London life as a schoolboy. Some may have gone to St. Paul's ; some certainly went to the Merchant Taylors' School ; more probably went to Westminster, although the imperfections of the records make

[1] Botero, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[2] R. H. Tawney, ' The Rise of the Gentry, 1558–1640 ', *Economic History Review*, xi (1941), pp. 1–38.

generalization dangerous. But, in addition to those foundations, there were private schools which catered for the sons of the nobility and gentry. Of these by far the best known is that of Thomas Farnaby, who, after an adventurous youth spent voyaging with Drake and Hawkins and soldiering in the Low Countries, became a leading classical scholar of his day and established a school in Goldsmith's Alley where he is said to have had upwards of three hundred noblemen and others under his care.[1] Farnaby was no doubt exceptional both in the reputation which he acquired and in the colourful life which he led, but he was not unique in his occupation. Nor was a London education a masculine monopoly. For Sir Simon D'Ewes tells us that his sisters were sent to school in Walbrook,[2] and the niece of Andrew Overton, among others, was sent to London to learn ' her needle, dauncing, and such qualities becoming a gentlewoman '.[3]

For most of the gentry, however, the significant introduction to the capital must have come when they enrolled at one of the Inns of Court, partly to obtain that minimum knowledge of the law essential to a landowner and justice of the peace, but principally to acquire that modicum of the social graces without which no gentleman's education could be considered complete. The role of the Inns of Court as schools of law and manners was not, of course, new. But in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the number of their students rose. Admissions to Gray's Inn, for example, which had amounted to only two hundred in the third decade of the sixteenth century, had risen to seven hundred and ninety-nine in the last and to twelve hundred and sixty-five in the ten years between 1611 and 1620.[4] Already by the middle of Elizabeth's reign three of the four great Inns were faced by that too familiar symptom of educational expansion, an accommodation problem that could not be solved by the obvious device of doubling up in chambers.[5] By the reign of Charles, that champion of right thinking, Archbishop Laud, was insisting upon the necessity of appointing proper officials in the Inns because ' almost all young gentlemen spend part of their time in one or other of the Inns of Court and afterwards, when they return to live in their several counties, steer

[1] See the article on ' Farnaby ' in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[2] *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (ed. J. O. Halliwell), i. 157.

[3] Chancery Proceedings, Chas. I, bdle. 6, no. 3. Cf. Star Chamber Proceedings, Jas. I, bdle. 116, no. 1, and *Cal. S.P.D., 1637*, p. 422.

[4] J. Foster, *Register of Admission to Gray's Inn, 1521–1889* (1889).

[5] S.P.D. Eliz., xcv. no. 91.

themselves according to such principles as in those places are preached to them'.[1] Under Elizabeth, Sir Humphrey Gilbert had complained that 'the estate of gentlemen cannot well traine upp their children within this Realme but eyther in Oxford or Cambridge', where 'they utterly lose their tymes if they doe not follow learning merely, for there is no other gentlemanlike qualitie to be attained'.[2] In 1615 Sir George Buck could write with some justification of a third University, the University of London, which offered a range of studies as extensive as it was peculiar.[3] Although they might still waste part of their youth on the banks of the Isis and the Cam, by the reign of Charles I the majority of the country gentry were spending the most impressionable years of their lives on the banks of the Fleet and the Thames, in an area admirably situated for tasting the pleasures of both the City and the Court, and in institutions which, far from following learning only, were sufficiently of the polite world to cultivate a taste for music and the drama and sufficiently broad-minded to finance that taste by turning their libraries into gambling saloons.[4]

Once settled on his family estate, there was a multitude of reasons why the thoughts of the country squire should constantly return to the capital. In one of the greatest ages of land speculation in English history, London was the very centre of the land market; for the estates that were being sold were above all those of the Crown, and the normal method of sale was through the agency of London financiers. In an age of universal borrowing, London was the great money market and London merchants the great lenders. In an age when a judicious marriage was often the easiest way to fortune, London was not unimportant as a marriage market, and the widows and daughters of citizens were not the least attractive stepping-stones to affluence. In an age of furious litigation, a substantial number of the gentry sooner or later found themselves involved before one or other of the courts at Westminster. Above all, in an age which was characterized by the successful assertion of the claims of the gentry to a share in political power, Westminster was the very centre of the political map. To say that the thoughts of the gentry constantly turned to the metropolis is not, of course, to argue that their bodies always followed. Lands could be bought, money could be borrowed, marriages could be arranged and

[1] *Cal. S.P.D. 1633–4*, p. 340. [2] Lansdowne MSS., xcviii, no. 1.
[3] J. Stow, *Annales* (ed. E. Howes, 1631), pp. 1063–87.
[4] *Cal. S.P.D. 1631–3*, p. 215; *1639–40*, pp. 304–5.

lawsuits could be fought without the physical presence of the landowner concerned. But three generalizations may be made with confidence. The squire who stayed in the country when such questions were at issue had of necessity to be represented by an agent in town; an agent who was likely to be a member of his own family. Whoever the agent might be, his employment entailed the expenditure of money which helped to develop the capital as a centre of consumption. Above all, far from being reluctant to visit London on business, a substantial number of the gentry were anxious to do so even when business offered no pretext. 'I am resolved to spend the greatest part of the rest of my lyf for the wynter and springe quarter abowt london,' wrote John Wynn of Gwydir in 1605, and in so resolving he was no more than conforming to a fashion already well established.[1] Whatever else they may have learned from their sojourn at the Inns of Court, it had revealed to the landowners of England that rural delights did not span the whole gamut of human pleasures. By the early seventeenth century, in fact, there had developed a clearly defined London season which began in the autumn, reached its climax at Christmas, and was over by June. The Duchess of Newcastle, for example, has left it on record that her sisters spent nearly every winter in London.[2] Two sisters, no doubt, do not make a season. But from her account of their normal activities when in town it is clear that, in paying their annual visit, they were following less some personal idiosyncrasy of their own than the social habits of their class. Not every squire went to London every winter, or necessarily stayed for the whole season when he did go. But, by the early seventeenth century, from October to June London always contained a substantial population of rural landowners. And the more regular that system became the more it grew, for the more men could rely upon finding company to their taste.

The townward migration of the gentry, however, was not a purely seasonal phenomenon, and by the reign of Charles I a significant number had become permanent residents of the city and its immediate neighbourhood. And it is at this stage that the story becomes more complicated, for it is here that the second stream of the gentry begins to appear—the stream of those who were driven citywards by their poverty.

[1] Wynn MSS., no. 348. The Wynn MSS., in the National Library of Wales, are an invaluable source for illustrating the relations of a county family with the capital.

[2] H. B. Wheatley and P. Cunningham, *London Past and Present*, iii. 295.

It is reasonable to suppose that the bulk of the seasonal visitors were comparatively affluent and came because their revenues provided a surplus which could be spent on the pleasures of the town. Some, no doubt, who came to take up permanent residence did so from deliberate and unfettered choice. But many were driven by compulsion. For though the gentry as a class emerged victorious from the difficulties into which they had been plunged by the rise in prices, the struggle had not been bloodless and the victims had not been confined to the ranks of the peasantry and the peerage. More than one county family found its expenses rising above its income, and the author of *The Commonweal of this Realm of England* explains how many of them sought a way out of their dilemma. 'Seeinge,' he says, 'the charges of howsehold so much as by no provision they can make can be holpen, they give over their howseholds and get them chambers in London or abowte the courte, and there spend there time, some with a servaunte or 2, wheare he was wounte to kepe 30 or 40 persons daily in his house.'[1] By the early seventeenth century it had become a commonplace that landowners were moving to London in order to save the charges of housekeeping in the country, although not all who did so were reduced to living in a single room, Moreover, even those families that successfully weathered the storm often did so only by means of a rigorous system of primogeniture. It was a system which often bore heavily on widows, and more than one moved Londonwards to ease the strain upon her scanty means. In particular, it was a system which bore heavily upon the younger sons who, to use Thomas Wilson's inelegant but expressive phrase, had only 'thatt which the catt left on the malt heape, perhaps some smale annuytie during his life or what please an elder brother's worship to bestowe upon us if wee please him and my mistress his wife'.[2] To such, London had obvious attractions. Thus the permanent residents which London recruited from the landowning classes were by no means a homogeneous group. Some were wealthy and able to support themselves with style if not with ostentation. Others were merely concerned to eke out a modest income. Others sought to supplement an income that was woefully inadequate to their needs. The efforts of this last group constitute a not unimportant factor in English history. On the one hand, they fertilized both commerce and the professions. On the other, they were largely responsible for the rash of patents

[1] *A Discourse of the Commonweal of this Realm of England* (ed. E. Lamond), p. 81. [2] *Camden Miscellany*, xvi (1936), p. 24.

and monopolies which from time to time disfigured the political and economic complexion of England. Those who succeeded in making or mending their fortunes must, by that very fact, pass largely beyond the scope of this paper. For to them London became the milieu in which they earned an income rather than spent revenues acquired elsewhere. But to ignore them completely would be an error. For many continued to draw some income from the provinces and, in so far as they retained the tastes and habits of the class from which they came, they served to reinforce the influence which their more fortunate kinsmen had upon the pattern of London life.

Neither the chronology nor the volume of that townward drift is easy to determine. It had existed in some measure during the Middle Ages. A few attempts were made to check it in the first three-quarters of the sixteenth century. But if the volume of contemporary comment may be taken as a criterion, it reached significant proportions in the last two decades of that century, two generations after the rise in prices had burst upon the landowning classes and at a period when the processes of eviction, enclosure and rack-renting and the sale of royal and monastic lands had all progressed sufficiently for the factors outlined above to have had some effect. By the early seventeenth century it had become great enough to inspire James to an ungallant outburst against 'those swarms of gentry who, through the instigation of their wives and to new-model and fashion their daughters (who, if they were unmarried, marred their reputations, and if married, lost them) did neglect their country hospitality, and cumber the city, a general nuisance to the kingdom.' [1] More important, it led to a series of prohibitory proclamations which not only stirred to fury the gentry with whose social activities they interfered, but also stirred to remonstrance the city in whose economic life that influx had come to play a part of some moment. According to Salvetti it had become, by the early years of Charles's reign, the custom for the greater part of the gentry to winter in town.[2] Since both Wilson at the beginning of the century and King at the end estimated the total number of gentle families at between sixteen and seventeen thousand, that statement, if true, would imply a seasonal influx of thousands of individuals. To take it literally would, no doubt, be naïve; diplomatists are notoriously bad statisticians, and the Italians were worse than most. But at least it suggests that the numbers concerned were of some magnitude,

[1] I. Disraeli, *The Curiosities of Literature* (1849 ed.), iii. 402.
[2] *Cal. S. P. Venetian 1632–6*, p. 38, note.

and the same conclusion is borne out by the fact that, in 1632, some two hundred and fifty peers, baronets, knights and gentlemen were prosecuted in the Star Chamber for having been found in London after a proclamation had ordered them home.[1] For it would surely be to underestimate both the law-abidingness and the ingenuity of their class to suppose that a much larger number had not either obeyed that proclamation or else escaped detection when it became clear that the government intended to act.

By the early seventeenth century, therefore, the economy of London and its suburbs was called upon to adapt itself to a substantial seasonal immigration of rural landowners, many of them accompanied by their families. It had to accommodate itself to an ever-changing and steadily growing student body which had already, under Elizabeth, exceeded a thousand. It had to absorb an uncertain but not inconsiderable number who, from either poverty or choice, from either boredom or ambition, had abandoned their country seats for permanent residence in the town. The incomes of those immigrants no doubt varied, but their total revenues must have been substantial. The result of their expenditure was to create a series of demands which it became an important function of the metropolis to fulfil and which significantly increased the influence that the Court had for long exerted on the pattern of London life. As Botero had pointed out, an invariable characteristic of the gentleman come to town was his ostentatious display. Or, in the more homely words of Ben Jonson, ' First, to be an accomplished gentleman—that is, a gentleman of the time—you must give over housekeeping in the country and live together in the city amongst gallants where, at your first appearance, 'twere good you turned four or five acres of your best land into two or three trunks of apparell '.[2] From that tendency towards conspicuous consumption the luxury trades of the city inevitably waxed fat. As in all ages, the gentleman come to town required transport, and it was during the early seventeenth century that the coach became a familiar part of the London scene. By the reign of Charles I, not only were hackney coaches to be found in their hundreds, but the cab rank had become an institution and the sedan chair was ceasing to be a curiosity.

What was of greater moment than either luxuries or transport, the gentleman come to town needed entertainment. Some, no doubt, he found at Court. But the facilities of the

[1] Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, ii. 288–92.
[2] C. Knight, *London*, i (1841), p. 378.

Court were limited, and by the Civil War the visiting and resident gentry had begun to build, or to help build, the leisure institutions that were to be characteristic of polite society in London at least until the end of the eighteenth century. The origin of English club life, it has been argued, is to be found in the associations of gentlemen, usually organized upon a county basis, who regularly met in their favourite taverns to drink, talk and criticize the government in the manner common to all club men at all times. By the reign of James, the gentry were already manifesting that taste for parks and pleasure gardens that one normally associates with a later age. By the reign of Charles, Hyde Park, which had still been used for hunting under James, had become a parade ground for the coaches of the fashionable, and, although Ranelagh and Vauxhall still lay in the future, the Spring and Mulberry Gardens were indicating the form which they were to take. That the Spring and Mulberry Gardens were both, strictly speaking, part and parcel of the royal parks is no doubt true. But that they were becoming commercialized is obvious from the contemporary descriptions which survive. As Garrard wrote to Wentworth in 1634 :

> The Bowling in the Spring Garden was by the King's Command put down for one day . . . there was kept in it an ordinary of six shillings a meal (when the King's proclamation allows but two elsewhere) continual bibbing and drinking of wine all day long under the trees, two or three quarrels every week. It was grown scandalous and insufferable ; besides, my Lord Digby being reprehended for striking in the King's Garden, he answered that he took it for a common bowling place where all paid money for their coming in.

When, in the next year, the Spring Garden was closed to the public, the immediate result was the opening of a new one as a private business venture.[1] Above all, there was the theatre. Lord Keynes is reported once to have said that England obtained Shakespeare when she could afford him. Presumably his meaning was that Shakespeare could flourish only in a commercial theatre, and that a commercial theatre could flourish only when there was sufficient surplus wealth to pay for it. If that argument is valid, then perhaps the urbanized and semi-urbanized gentry of Elizabeth and the early Stuarts may claim at least some share of reflected glory, for it was their demand for entertainment that helped to bring the commercial theatre into being. Describing how, in the days of

[1] Wheatley and Cunningham, *op. cit.*, iii. 294–5.

Charles I, her sisters spent their London seasons the Duchess of Newcastle wrote: 'Their customs were in the winter time to go sometimes to plays or to ride in their coaches about the streets to see the concourse and recourse of people, and in the springtime to visit the Spring Garden, Hyde Park and the like places, and sometimes they would have music and cup in barges upon the water.'[1] It was a routine which would have seemed familiar to the eighteenth century. It would have been incomprehensible to the fifteenth.

Moreover, not only did the demands of the newly urbanized country gentry for entertainment lead to a pattern of leisure activities that was to persist for generations, but their demand for accommodation eventually opened a new chapter in the history of architecture. To a large extent, of course, that demand was for purely temporary accommodation and was met by the expansion of what would now be called the hotel and catering trades, and references abound to the great inns that were going up in and around Holborn and to the taverns and cookshops to which the gentry proved such good customers. But of more interest to the historian was their demand for permanent accommodation, for by the time of Charles I that demand was being met in ways which were to leave a lasting imprint upon London topography. On the one hand, those who were content to live near rather than in the metropolis began to build up the old villages of Clerkenwell and Islington, Hampstead and Chelsea as residential suburbs. On the other, those who wished to be in the centre of things settled in the area which was being developed in the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields. As Mr. Summerson has recently pointed out, in developing that area Inigo Jones, the Earl of Bedford and William Newton laid the foundation-stones of two centuries of London taste. Lincoln's Inn Fields, Covent Garden and Great Queen Street inspired the work of the great builders of the eighteenth century. The character of the Georgian town house was fixed under Charles I, and it was fixed to meet the needs of the country gentry who were becoming townsmen.[2]

To discuss at length the process by which the spending of these rural revenues gradually modified the pattern of London life in one detail after another would, however, be to lapse into that parochial enthusiasm which the local historian should never parade in public. But two general remarks may perhaps be permitted. The new urban society that was growing up in the city and its suburbs, a society that still had its financial

[1] Wheatley and Cunningham, *op. cit.*, iii. 294–5.
[2] J. Summerson, *Georgian London*, ch. ii.

roots and many of its interests in the countryside, created an environment which helped to foster two of the most interesting phenomena of Tudor and Stuart England. The first was the development of the lay professions. Of all the unexplored fields of English economic history, none is less known than the story of the English professional classes, and where the historian knows little it behoves him to say less. But clearly, when that story comes to be written, an important chapter in it will of necessity be devoted to the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, for those years saw, not only the spectacular rise of the lawyers, but also a significant development of the doctors and architects, the scriveners and journalists. Nearly the whole of that development took place in London and Westminster, for it was only in the capital that the demand for professional services was sufficiently great to make their provision on any scale a source of profit. And a not unsubstantial part of that demand came from the gentry. In the second place, it was this period that saw firmly established the connection between the capital and scholarship, both professional and amateur; the Academy which met weekly from 1572 to 1604 stands on record as the first of the learned societies of London.

By comparison with the rural tide which flowed towards the capital after the Restoration, this earlier movement may seem modest. To an age which takes urban life for granted, it may reasonably appear as a sign of economic progress. But to contemporaries it was a phenomenon of ill-omen. Some of the opposition which it encountered was, no doubt, inspired by motives which do not appear on the surface. For, as the Venetian ambassadors pointed out, an order that the gentry should disperse to their country homes could on occasion serve as a means for breaking up a Parliamentary opposition or as an instrument of taxation. But the major roots of official disapproval lay deeper, for the migration of the gentry towards London offended against some of the major social principles of the time. In an age when both economic and religious theory demanded a régime of some austerity, the gentleman come to town indulged in luxuries which not only threatened him with personal ruin but which endangered that favourable balance of trade to which so great importance was attached. In an age when the problems of city government were becoming ever more acute, the responsibility for those problems was in large measure laid at his door. For, it was argued, where the gentry went there the idle and dissolute among the lower orders were bound to follow. And in following the gentry to

the capital they created problems of housing and poor relief, disease and high prices, which were intolerable in a well-ordered commonwealth. Above all, in an age when every social class was deemed to have its obligations as well as its rights, the gentry threatened to become parasites upon the body politic. As the Attorney-General argued in the Star Chamber:

> For where by their residency and abiding in several Counties where their Means ariseth, they served Your Majesty in several places according to their Degrees and Ranks in aid of Government, whereby, and by their Housekeeping in those Parts, the Realm was defended and the meaner sort of Your People were guided, directed and relieved; but by their residency in the said cities, and parts adjoining, they have no employment, but live without doing any service to Your Majesty or Your People.[1]

By so neglecting their traditional functions, the gentry threatened to undermine the whole structure of local government. Consequently it is not surprising that sporadic efforts were made to discourage the new fashion, efforts that became more vigorous and more frequent as the fashion grew. Sometimes, those efforts were indirect. 'We have very plausible Things done of late,' wrote Gerrard to Wentworth in 1634. 'To encourage Gentlemen to live more willingly in the Country, all Game Fowl, as Pheasant, Partridges, Ducks, as also Hares are by Proclamation forbidden to be dressed or eaten in any Inns, and Butchers are forbidden to be Graziers.'[2] More often, however, the method used was that of ordering the gentry back to their country residences. That in the long run those methods failed is obvious. But the efforts of the Crown were not entirely devoid of results. For the resentment which those orders aroused must be counted among the minor causes of the growing rift between the landowning classes and the monarchy.

[1] Rushworth, *op. cit.*, ii. 289.

[2] W. Knowler, *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches*, i (1739), p. 176.

THE INAUGURATION CEREMONIES OF THE YORKIST KINGS AND THEIR TITLE TO THE THRONE

By C. A. J. Armstrong, M.A., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

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Ceremonial played an important part in the actions of the Yorkist kings. Their sumptuary laws [1] and the incorporation of the minstrels and later of the heralds [2] are examples of the concern felt by Edward IV and Richard III for the outward forms of public life. Of especial interest are those solemnities by means of which the Yorkist dynasty announced its possession of the crown. Ceremonies such as these provide what may be called the iconography of kingship.

The crown, more especially the succession, was the one political issue,[3] the theoretical implications of which were at all fully examined in the fifteenth century; and the formal proceedings at the accessions of both Edward IV and Richard III gave concrete expression to many current ideas concerning the royal estate. It is perhaps not irrelevant to emphasize anew the external similarity in the means adopted by the two brothers to reach the throne.[4] Ignore for a moment the ugly fact that Richard of Gloucester was evicting his own nephew, and the parallel between his usurpation in 1483 and his brother's seizure of the crown in 1461 is very close. The title of each was put forward at Paul's Cross, and each secured the support of a section of the lords in a council at Baynard's Castle, the private residence of the Plantagenets, as the offspring of Richard duke of York may properly be called. Finally each took possession of the realm and began his reign by seating himself on the marble chair at Westminster, while reserving for the subsequent session of parliament the registration of his title in petitionary form. The tragic qualities of King Richard's

[1] F. E. Baldwin, Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulations in England (Johns Hopkins Univ., Studies in Hist. and Political Sciences, Baltimore 1926), pp. 96–119.

[2] Incorporation of minstrels 1469 (Rymer, *Foedera*, xi. 642–4) and of heralds 1484 (*ibid.*, xii. 215–16). Both grants were undoubtedly due in large measure to the anxiety of certain members of each profession to secure a monopoly.

[3] The succession question is examined by S. B. Chrimes, *English Constitutional Ideas in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 22–38 and *passim*.

[4] The resemblance in principle was underlined by C. H. Williams, in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, viii. 420.

usurpation have somewhat diverted attention from the accession of his elder brother, which is perhaps the more interesting because, among other things, better documented.

With a title based on a strict interpretation of birthright, a dynasty which owed its place on the throne to a successful restoration might be expected to emphasize the personal elements in kingship. Modern historical thought has been justifiably reluctant to admit the existence in the later middle ages of a rationalized distinction between the office and the person of the king.[1] In the solemnities of the Yorkist period, the guiding principle was to identify the personal with the public capacity of the prince, which implies that fear of a distinction between the two was not wholly absent.

The Wars of the Roses were scarcely prolific in political ideas; but the vicissitudes of the Crown could not fail to clarify certain principles implicit in events themselves. Thus the faction fight which disturbed England in 1460 and 1461 revealed the issue between legitimism and prescription; while the assertion and triumph of legitimism brought to light the distinction between a 'de jure' and a 'de facto' claim, or rather disclosed the existence of a 'de jure' title.[2] The recognition of the 'de jure' principle in its purest form is authenticated as from the accession of Edward IV. Twice in his first parliament his father Richard duke of York was named 'king in right of the realm of England'; [3] and in 1478, at least within the court, Cicely, the widow of the duke, is called 'queene of right Cicelie mother to the kinge'.[4] The 'de jure' titles, posthumously though officially assigned to duke Richard and by courtesy to his widow Cicely, indicate that contemporaries were perfectly capable of distinguishing

[1] Chrimes, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–8; K. Pickthorn, *Early Tudor Government*, i. 45, 161–2.

[2] A. F. Pollard, 'Tudor Gleanings: the De Facto Act of Henry VII', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, vii (1929–30), 2:—'It was the uncrowned king—the king de jure—who was a novelty, a novelty sprung from the revolutions and the reactions against the revolutions of 1399 and 1461.'

[3] *Rot. Parl.*, v. 462b, 477a.

[4] 'Narrative of the Marriage of Richard duke of York . . . 1477 (O.S.)', in *Illustrations of Ancient State and Chivalry*, ed. W. H. Black (Roxburghe Club, 1840), p. 29. Her official style was more modest: 'Item ducissa Ebor, mater regis Edwardi 4ti sic stabit in stylo: By the ryghtful enheritors wyffe late of the regne off England and of ffraunce and off the lordschyppe off Yrlonde, the kynges mowder ye Duchesse of Yorke' (*Abbreviata Cronica, 1377–1469*, ed. J. J. Smith (Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Soc., i, 1840–6), p. 9). The compiler of the *Abbreviata Cronica* was well acquainted with the Yorkist foundation of Stoke by Clare, and his version is probably taken from an original. Another form is 'Cecilli the kyngs mooder and late wyf unto Richard rightfull kyng of England etc.' (Hist. MSS. Commission, *Second Report* (1871), Appendix, p. 94).

a ' de jure ' from a ' de facto ' authority ; if indeed as much is not already abundantly clear from the statutory language of the Yorkist and early Tudor reigns when referring to their discredited predecessors as kings in deed but not of right.[1]

The demands of Richard duke of York in the autumn of 1460 [2] demonstrated the existence of a ' de jure ' claim as a political concept. The seizure of power by his son Edward in the spring of 1461 raised the question as to how a ' de jure ' title was to be converted into a valid authority of the type which was readily recognizable from centuries of effective kingship in England. After the succession award in parliament of October 1460, when Richard of York was designated ' verrey true and rightfull heire ' ; but to a greater extent following the duke's death at Wakefield in December, Yorkist legitimism was embodied in the word ' inheritance ', namely a right the realization of which the heir was bound to pursue.[3] Edward was a minor ; and there is, to my knowledge, no evidence that he entered upon his father's estates by legal process, to which the time after the battle of Wakefield was unpropitious.[4] He had not, however, taken formal possession of the realm before he issued a letter of protection as ' Edward by the grace of God, of Englande, Fraunce and Ireland vray and just heire, duc of York, erl of March and Ulvestre '.[5] The inheritance idea is linked with the conception of the kingship as property ; and recently historical scholarship has drawn attention to the attitude to crown and kingdom as if toward property or real estate.[6] The essential value of inheritance as a political theory was to preserve the title over a period when it could not be effectively enforced, and to provide a formula, readily understood by contemporaries, for transforming, by means of a public ceremony, a ' de jure ' right into valid

[1] Pollard, *op. cit.*, p. 2, n. 1. The term ' de facto ' was applied to Edward IV during the readeption of Henry VI : ' Edwardo nuper de facto rege Anglie . . . a possessione et exercicio regie dignitatis et potestatis in regno Anglie . . . ammoto ' (*Year Book* 10 *Edward IV and* 49 *Henry VI*, ed. N. Neilson (Selden Soc., xlvii, 1930), p. 155).

[2] *Rot. Parl.*, v. 375a–377b.

[3] *Ibid.*, v. 379b. The chronicle of Vitellius A xvi says that Edward took possession ' by the right of enherytaunce as eldest son unto the duke of York ' (*Chronicles of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, Oxford, 1905, p. 174).

[4] A commission addressed to Edward as duke of York was issued under date of 12 February 1461 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1452–61*, p. 659). Among chroniclers, William Worcester, who as an antiquary was interested in titles of honour, speaks of Edward as duke of York at his accession (*Wars of English in France*, ed. J. Stevenson, Rolls Series, 1864, ii. 777).

[5] The protection was granted to the Provost and Fellows of Eton and is published by H. C. Maxwell Lyte, *History of Eton College* (4th edn., 1911), p. 62.

[6] Williams, *loc. cit.*; Chrimes, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–13, 31.

possession. Paradoxically an extreme legitimist challenge to prescriptive right asserted itself by reasserting the dormant elective principle, which prior to the establishment of primogeniture had played so important a part in the succession to the Crown.[1] The notorious petition of June 1483,[2] by which Richard duke of Gloucester contrived to shift responsibility for his impending usurpation, has aroused undue comment, because of the insufficient realization that the formal expression of popular consent gave a distinctive character to the inauguration of Edward IV.

In 1461 as in 1483 there was no lack of utilitarian motives for a specious appeal to popular sentiment; but if the heir was to take undisputed seisin, and to enter upon his inheritance, witnesses to the lawfulness of his title and to the act of his taking possession were indispensable. Popular participation in the enthronement of Edward IV could not therefore be excluded; and Richard III, who in so many respects produced such a neat parody of his brother's accession, doubtless appreciated that aspect. If King Edward was elected, it was at the hands of a small body of Yorkist lords; for what he sought and obtained from the Londoners and others was acclamation rather than election. In the coronation order the elective principle had dwindled into the formal acclamation of the monarch[3] whose right was already a matter of fact, since he was in possession of the regalia. Acclamation then was not incompatible with legitimism. Indeed it was the collective recognition of a 'de jure' right, and as such was essential to the process whereby right became the exercise of authority. If certain sources favourable to the Yorkist cause are at pains to stress the participation of popular consent,[4] it

[1] P. E. Schramm, *History of the English Coronation* (transl. L. G. W. Legg, Oxford, 1937), pp. 150–63.

[2] J. Gairdner, *History of Richard III* (3rd edn., 1898), pp. 87–93.

[3] Schramm, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 155, 159–60, 172, and 'Ordines-Studien III', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, xv. (1937), 305–91. The latter provides a chronological bibliography of texts and studies on English medieval coronation orders. For convenience I prefer, where necessary, to quote orders from the texts edited in one volume by L. G. W. Legg, *English Coronation Records* (1901).

[4] Letter of George Neville to Francesco Coppini, bishop of Terni, dated from London 7 April 1461 (*Calendar of State Papers, Milan*, i. 61), 'fu nominato et quasi per forza creato re generalmente et de gentilhomini et da plebei'. 'He toke uppon hym the crowne of England by the avysse of the lordys spyrytual and temporalle, and by the elexyon of the comyns' (*Gregory's Chronicle* in *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*, ed. J. Gairdner, Camden Soc., N.S., xvii, 1876, p. 215). The above may unhesitatingly be termed pro-Yorkist sources. Of non-partisan character are: (1) Letter of Prospero di Camulio to the duke of Milan, dated from Brussels 27 March 1461, 'il quale (viz. Edw. IV) electo novo rei da principi et populi in Londres . . .' (*Calendar of State Papers, Milan*, i. 58–9), and (2) the marginal note

is no less curious that Sir John Fortescue, to whom popular interference was distasteful, should have omitted to impugn the Yorkist title on the grounds of its partly popular derivation.[1] The explanation seems to be that whereas acclamation was essential to the realization of a 'de jure' title, it was so entirely subordinate to legitimist theory that it was not worth a place in Fortescue's list of defects in the title of the house of York.

There are reasons for rejecting other dates in favour of Thursday 26 February 1461 as the day upon which the future Edward IV entered London with the earl of Warwick and other lords of their party.[2] In the afternoon of Sunday 1 March, there gathered in St. John's Fields an assembly which in the estimation of William Worcester, who was present, numbered between three and four thousand persons drawn from the London populace and the Yorkist army. To this audience George Neville, bishop of Exeter, chancellor of England and brother of Warwick, declared the offences of Henry VI and the articles of the Yorkist claim. When he had secured the

'Rex eligitur' in the *Great Chronicle* entered by the chronicler himself (the second chronicler) against his account of the meeting in St. John's Fields (*Great Chronicle of London*, ed. A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley (1938), pp. 195 and introduction, xxii).

[1] 'Nam si unctio et coronatio talis per episcopum Cantauriensem sufficeret ad ordinandum aliquem in regem unctum Domini seu Christum Domini, tunc ipse ad clamorem insurgentium in Kantia, posset pro libito unum alium ipsis in regem ordinare etiam ad placitum quot et quantosque voluerunt unctos . . .; quod est ridiculum' (*De Titulo Edwardi Comitis Marchiae* in *Works of Sir John Fortescue*, ed. Lord Clermont, i. 71). In March 1461 Edward's army contained *inter alios* Kentishmen (*Short English Chronicle* in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, ed. J. Gairdner, Camden Soc., N.S., xxviii, 1880, p. 77). So perhaps Fortescue insinuates that the Yorkist title derived from the rabble.

[2] The sources are conflicting and imprecise. George Neville, writing on 7 April, says 25 February (*Calendar of State Papers, Milan*, i. 61), and this is confirmed by Whetehamstede (*Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whetehamstede*, ed. T. H. Riley, Rolls Series, i. 404), the eighth day after the second battle of St. Albans fought on 17 February. The London chroniclers agree that the entry was on a Thursday, which can only be Thursday, 26 February. Gregory's chronicle alone (p. 215), states simply 26 February. The *Short English Chronicle* (ed. J. Gairdner, Camden Soc., N.S., xxviii, 1880, p. 77) and Fabyan (ed. H. Ellis, 1811, p. 639), give Thursday in the first week of Lent, and if Thursday in the first week of 'clean' Lent be understood, 26 February is indicated. After a gap in the text, *Gough London 10* (in *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. R. Flenley, Oxford, 1911, p. 161), speaks of 'the Thursday after', while the *Great Chronicle* (ed. A. H. Thomas and I. S. Thornley, pp. 194–5) indicates the Thursday following Queen Margaret's withdrawal northwards, the date of which is not precisely known, but was certainly not before Thursday, 19 February (C. Scofield, *Life and Reign of Edward IV*, i. 146–7). A letter dated from London, 4 March 1461 (*Calendar of State Papers, Milan*, i. 54), and the *Brief Latin Chronicle* (in *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles*, p. 172), talk of 27 February, which is the latest possible date, as the protection issued by the future Edward IV to Eton (cf. *supra*, p. 53, n. 5) was dated from London on that day.

rejection of King Henry and the acclamation of King Edward, the crowd was dispersed, and their captains (a sinister name in the later fifteenth century denoting self-made popular leaders) carried the resolution to Edward at Baynard's Castle.[1] 'And so in feld and towne everychone called Edward kynge', as a chronicler has it.[2] On the morrow, Monday 2 March, articles setting forth his title were proclaimed in London[3]; and on Tuesday 3 March these articles were approved by a great council at Baynard's Castle of the Yorkist lords spiritual and temporal. Their number was small, and although the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of Salisbury and Exeter were present, with the duke of Norfolk and earl of Warwick, the others were by no means distinguished. The council then was far from being representative; but it was decisive, and in so far as Edward was elected king the substantive election took place in the council chamber and not in St. John's Fields.[4]

The outcome of the council meeting was clearly discernible from the proclamation cried on the same day that all manner of people should meet Edward at St. Paul's on the morrow, Wednesday 4 March, at nine in the morning.[5] That day was the date from which King Edward's regnal years were to run; and it must be supposed that the course of events on the

[1] Worcester, *Annales*, in *Wars of the English in France*, ii. 777 (cf. *infra*, p. 62, n. 5); 'Vitellius A xvi' in *Chronicles of London*, pp. 173–4; *Gough London 10*, p. 161; *Great Chronicle*, p. 195. The current connotation of captain is self-evident in Cade's name 'the captain of Kent' and the remarks by Edmund Dudley in *Tree of Commonwealth* (ed. Harland, Manchester, 1859, p. 58). For the study of the *City Chronicle* it is interesting to note that the account of the gathering in St. John's Fields is virtually identical in 'Vitellius A xvi', *Gough London 10* and *Great Chronicle*. 'Vitellius A xvi' is probably nearest to the archetype.

[2] *Short English Chronicle*, p. 77. [3] *Brief Latin Chronicle*, p. 173.

[4] *Brief Latin Chronicle*, p. 173, Worcester, *Annales*, p. 777, and *Great Chronicle*, p. 195, indicate that the decisive council was held 3 March 1461, as is also implied by Fabyan, p. 639, whereas Whethamstede (*Registrum*, i. 404) speaks of daily consultations between the lords spiritual and temporal. Worcester records the lesser members of the council, Lord FitzWalter, William Herbert knt., otherwise Lord Herbert (summoned to Parl. by writ of July 1461), Walter Devereux knt., otherwise Lord Ferrers of Chartley (writ July 1461), 'et multi alii'. The duke of Norfolk played an obscure but influential part in these proceedings; see the obituary remarks of Fabyan, p. 652, and *Great Chronicle*, p. 198. Worcester (*loc cit.*) makes it quite clear that the crown was awarded by the council 'ubi concordarunt et concluserunt Edwardum ipsum . . . fore tunc regem Angliae', a conclusion substantiated by *Brief Latin Chronicle* (*loc. cit.*), 'Vitellius A xvi', p. 174, Fabyan, p. 639, and *Historia Croylandensis Continuatio* (II) (in *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores*, ed. W. Fulman, i (1684), p. 550). In July 1460, after the battle of Northampton, it was rumoured that a son of the duke of York would be made king (*Correspondence de la filiale de Bruges des Medici*, ed. A. Grunzweig (Comm. roy. d'hist de Belgique, 1931), p. 91).

[5] *Gough London 10*, p. 161.

4 March had been prearranged at the council of the party lords. After a general procession through London,[1] Edward offered at the cathedral where the ' Te Deum ' was sung,[2] and George Neville, bishop of Exeter, preached from St. Paul's Cross.[3] The political sermon delivered at Paul's was a recognized instrument of revolution, for the readeption of Henry VI and the usurpation of Richard III were ushered in by preachers from the same spot.[4] Indeed in 1481 Richard, then duke of Gloucester, prudently accepted from Cambridge an assurance that the divines of the university who preached at Paul's would commend him to the prayers of the public.[5] The notoriety of the bishop of Exeter's sermon may be judged from the fact that ten years later, when the battle of Barnet had closed for ever the Neville-York rivalry, Edward IV in a proclamation to his subjects expressly invoked among the testimonies to the validity of his title the sermon which his former chancellor had preached at St. Paul's.[6] Unfortunately the fragment which in 1842 J. O. Halliwell published and identified with Neville's discourse (an identification since widely accepted) must be pronounced spurious.[7] Only two

[1] For the accustomed route (1471) of the general procession see *Arrivall of Edward IV*, ed. J. Bruce, Camden Soc. (1848), p. 15, and *Great Chronicle*, p. 215.

[2] *Gough London 10*, p. 161 ; *Great Chronicle*, p. 195.

[3] *Brief Latin Chronicle*, p. 173.

[4] 1459 : sermon against defeated Yorkist lords (*Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, iii. 196) ; 1470 : readeption of Henry VI (Scofield, *Edward IV*, i. 538) ; 1483 : usurpation of Richard III (Gairdner, *Richard III*, pp. 79–82). There is a curious continental parallel in the sermon of Dr. Hans Ernst who in 1453 preached in favour of Frederick the Victorious of the Palatinate, who occupied for life the territories of his nephew Philip (B. Pez, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum* iii, pt. 3, p. 304).

[5] *Grace Book A.*, ed. S. M. Leathes (Cambridge Antiquarian Soc., extra vol. i, 1897), pp. 159, 171.

[6] *Infra*, p. 69, n. 3.

[7] Cotton MS., Vespasian E. vii, from fos. 21 v.–22 v. of which J. O. Halliwell (*Archaeologia*, xxix, 1842, pp. 127–9) printed the reputed sermon, is a miscellany, including annals, but so predominantly cryptic and prophetic that the collection must be regarded as an example of the abundant prophecy literature of the times (cf. R. Taylor, *Political Prophecy in England*, Columbia University Studies in English, 1911). The volume was probably put together in or about 1461, as the accession of Edward IV is the latest event entered in the annals by the hand which wrote the major part of the contents, including that attributed by Halliwell to Neville. On internal evidence it is impossible to accept the identification of fos. 21 v.–22 v. with Neville's sermon at St. Paul's. The author of the ' pseudo-Neville ', and of much else in the miscellany, was an ardent Welsh patriot who saw in the accession of Edward IV, descended from a daughter of Llewelyn ap Joworth (fo. 68 v.), the restoration of the British race and princes. The ' pseudo-Neville ' declares ' righte for syne be wrong was put out anno 689 and now ageine wronge for syne be ryghte is flemed out the londe for ever anno 1460 ' (p. 129). In the annals for the reign of Cadwallader (659–98 !) is a cross reference (fo. 49 r.), ' Causa expulsionis Britonum ', and beneath ' Cadwelladrus habuit responsum ab angelo quod Britones redierent Saxonibus expulsis cum hec peccata (to which

reliable narrative sources pay some attention to the sermon, and of these one is a compilation characterized by a certain partiality for the Nevilles, while the other is the London Chronicle known as *Gough London 10*. The former, having told how the chancellor set forth his master's title with abundant evidence, adds that he refuted the hypothetical objections which might be advanced against it.[1] The latter records the acclamation which greeted Edward's title, when the chancellor in conclusion inquired of his listeners if they would have Edward as their king. The crowd, which was to be witness and accomplice of the act of state about to take place, was then bidden to proceed to Westminster and see him enter upon his estate.[2]

According to *Gough London 10*, certainly the most independent account of Edward's taking possession at Westminster, he rode to the great hall of the palace and went in to the chancery, which since the fourteenth century had occupied a portion of the hall. Here before the primate, Thomas Bourchier, the chancellor George Neville, and other lords unnamed, he took the oath 'that he shulde truly and justly kepe the realme and the lawes thereof maynteyne as a true and juste kyng'.[3] Despite their vagueness, these words reproduce tolerably the substance of the traditional 'promissio regis',[4] and it cannot be doubted that Edward took the coronation oath at some point in his inauguration. Unfortunately there is little hope of knowing the formula. The sources also disagree as to the moment at which the oath was made. Neither the city chronicle known from its manuscript

explusion of Britons is attributed) fuerint ita profunde radicata in Saxonibus sicut fuerunt in Britonibus tunc. Nota per angelum et per sanctos ad illum numerum signatum 1460 quando recuperent.' It is unlikely that George Neville was interested in Welsh patriotism, and it is unreasonable to suppose that he would have introduced the theme preaching to Londoners on behalf of Edward IV's title. The 'pseudo-Neville', which in the manuscript is without note of authorship, is rather a survey of prophecies relating the fortunes of the Welsh with the Yorkist dynasty. Thus the revelations named by 'pseudo-Neville' are set out at length under the names of the several prophets in a later portion of the manuscript, e.g. Prophecy of the Sibyl (fo. 85 r.), Gildas (fo. 88 r.), St. Germanus (fo. 91 v.), Bede (fo. 95 r.), St. Bridget (fo. 116 v.).

[1] *Brief Latin Chronicle*, p. 173. Friendliness to the Nevilles is evident in the description of events 1462–4 and 1469 (*ibid.*, pp. 176, 178, 183); cf. also below, p. 71, n. 4.

[2] *Gough London 10*, p. 161.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 162. On the position of Chancery within the palace, see Stow's *Survey of London* (ed. C. L. Kingsford), ii. 118; B. Wilkinson, *Chancery under Edward III* (Manchester 1929), p. 96; J. T. Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster* (1807 edn.), plate facing p. 125.

[4] H. G. Richardson, 'The English Coronation Oath', *ante*, 4th series, xxiii (1941), pp. 129–58, and the literature there quoted, p. 129, n. 1.

as ' Vitellius A xvi ' nor Fabyan has anything to say about the episode in chancery ; and both notice the oath at a later stage after the acclamation of the populace in the hall. The Vitellius chronicle speaks simply of ' his othe ', while Fabyan more explicitly states ' after the accustomyd use to kyngys to swere ', an unmistakable reference to the coronation oath.[1] And so the question arises whether Edward professed the oath on two separate occasions, of which the first, related only by the Gough chronicle, was relatively private before the archbishop, chancellor and lords, the second, reported in ' Vitellius A xvi ' and Fabyan's chronicle, being public and under the eyes of the people.

The gathering of the lords in the chancery, though they must have been few and solely representative of the Yorkist interest, is a noteworthy incident, because in abnormal circumstances they were exercising their right to assemble within the palace early on the day of a coronation, and to consult together before the commencement of public proceedings, not only about the consecration and election of the king, but also about the establishing of the laws and customs.[2] The suspicion arises that the lords of the Yorkist faction did not miss their opportunity of taking from Edward, before his occupation of the throne, an oath possibly more restrictive than that which he afterwards professed in public.

In the chancery Edward put on the rich robes of a king and the cap of estate, which at that time was inferior in dignity to the crown alone.[3] Normally a king to be crowned, ' rex regnaturus ', took his place in the morning of his coronation upon the King's Bench, and wearing the cap and the rich robe later known as the Parliament Robe awaited the procession which was to conduct him to the abbey.[4] The cap and robe were the regalia of the secular enthronement which preceded the coronation ; and their significance when worn by Edward, who took his seat on the marble chair or King's Bench [5] in

[1] ' Vitellius A xvi ' in *Chronicles of London*, p. 174 ; Fabyan, p. 639.

[2] In the late fourteenth-century order usually termed the ' Lytlington ordo ' (L. G. W. Legg, *English Coronation Records*, p. 83).

[3] *Gough London 10*, p. 162 ; see W. H. St. John Hope, ' Note on the Cap of Maintenance ' in Legg, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxxii–lxxxviii.

[4] Legg, *op. cit.*, pp. xxii–xxiii, 225 (Little Device) ; Schramm (transl. Legg), *op. cit.*, pp. 171, 267.

[5] Referring to the throne into which Richard III intruded himself on the day of his possession, J. Gairdner (*Richard III*, edn. 1898, p. 94, note), cautiously identifies it with the King's Bench. He had already given guarded approval to that assumption in the preface to *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, pp. xxii, xxvii–xxviii. It is virtually certain that the throne, whereon Edward IV and Richard III took possession, and that on which kings of England awaited the coronation procession, was none other than

Westminster Hall, was unequivocal. Whereas in a regular coronation the enthronement on the King's Bench was, however impressive, a subordinate moment because a prelude to the anointing, for Edward IV and Richard III, who literally made their way to the throne, elevation accompanied by acclamation,[1] was of supreme significance, recalling the legendary days when Teutonic chiefs were raised upon the shield.[2] The enthronization in the great hall unambiguously announced the taking possession of the realm; and to leave no doubt in regard to his exercise of power Edward IV, in addition to assuming the cap and the royal robe, sat in the King's Bench sceptre in hand.[3] The heir of England seated on the King's Bench, that place from which the law-giving virtues of the Crown could be held to emanate,[4] might appear

the King's Bench. In regard to normal coronations this identification is unhesitatingly accepted by Schramm (transl. Legg), *op. cit.*, pp. 171, 267. For the inauguration of Edward IV the throne is described as: 'sedes regalis' (*Brief Latin Chronicle*, p. 173); 'the See', (*Gough London 10*, p. 162); 'the kynges see' ('Vitellius A xvi', p. 174; *Great Chronicle*, p. 195); 'the high deace in the grete hall' ('Hearne's Fragment' in *Thomae Sprotti Chronica*, ed. T. Hearne, Oxford, 1719, p. 286). For that of Richard III we have: 'cathedra marmorea' (*Historia Croylandensis Continuatio* (II), ed. Fulman, i. 566); 'the kyngys cheyer or place where alle kyngys take ffyrst possescion' (*Great Chronicle*, p. 232); 'Ibi [Westminster] quum in ea sede collocasset se, quae regium tribunal, ob id vocatur, quod judicia sic in eo foro exerceantur, ac parem obtineant authoritatem, tanquam ipsius ore regis prolata, pro concione rursus ostendit ex eo loco potissimum possessionem sese regni capere' (T. More, *Historia Richardi III*, in *Opera Omnia*, Louvain, 1566, fo. 56; the passage is omitted in More's English version of the History). In reports on coronation ceremonial we find: 'sedes regalis' (Legg., *op. cit.*, p. 172) in 'Forma & Modus', compiled late in fourteenth century; 'marble chair' (Legg., *op. cit.*, p. 225) in the 'Little Device' used for the coronations of Richard III and Henry VII; 'Kings Bench' (Legg., *op. cit.*, p. 195) in a narrative of Richard III's coronation preserved in a seventeenth-century transcript. The only dissentient voice is that of Whetehamstede, who writes: 'perrexit [Edw. IV] . . . ad palatium regium, existens apud Westmonasterium ipsumque ingrediens accessit ad regis solium tempore parliamenti ibidem erectum' (*Registrum*, ed. Riley, i. 404). This seems to indicate the throne in the Painted Chamber used at openings of parliament; cf. the customary formula, e.g. in parliaments of 1455, 1460, 1461, 'ipso domino rege in camera depicta in regali solio residente' *Rot. Parl.*, v. 278a, 373a, 461a. I am unable to reconcile Whetehamstede's remark with the course of events as known from other sources.

[1] The association of acclamation and elevation is aptly stated by the Croyland Chronicle referring to Edward IV '. . . acclamantibus cunctis in regem Angliae sublimatur', *Historia Croylandensis Continuatio* (I), p. 532.

[2] A. Taylor, *Glory of Regality* (1820), pp. 23–32; Schramm (transl. Legg), p. 3. Received theories are examined in the light of facts relating to certain tribes by P. Grierson, 'Election and Inheritance in early Germanic Kingship', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vii (1941), 1–22.

[3] 'Vitellius A xvi', p. 174; Fabyan, p. 639; *Great Chronicle*, p. 195. 'In the English coronation orders the sceptre is especially the sign of regal power, while the rod is more the ensign of the paternal authority of the sovereign' (Legg, *op. cit.*, p. xliii).

[4] Cf. the remarks of More quoted above, p. 59, n. 5.

like an animated monument in whom the traditional attributes of royalty were displayed.

> ' Rex insignitur sceptro, regnoque potitur,
> Cumque coronatur successio vera probatur.'

Thus ran the inscription on a scene from the legend of the Confessor in the hangings of the choir of Westminster.[1] It is hard to escape the conclusion that in the eyes of many contemporaries, possession of the sceptre was synonymous with possession of the kingdom. This impression is confirmed by the coincidence that the briefer the narrative the closer becomes the identification between sceptre and assumption of power, as if those writers who summarily mentioned the accession sought to convey their meaning by insistence on the object which epitomised the transfer of power.[2]

It was, however, the delivery to King Edward of the Confessor's sceptre which in the eyes of his generation marked his seisin of the realm; and although there is trustworthy evidence to show that a sceptre was in Edward's hand as he sat enthroned in the hall of the palace, it is probably safe to say that it was not a sceptre from the Confessor's regalia. Indeed two authorities, the writer of the Gough chronicle and Abbot Whetehamstede, only mention the sceptre in the minster, that is after the enthronization in the King's Bench.[3] An explanation comes from the London ' Vitellius ' chronicle, which, describing the scene in Westminster Hall, speaks of Edward as ' sitting in the kynges see with the cepture in his hand ', but in recounting his subsequent entry into the abbey relates that ' he [Edward] was receyved with procession beryng the cepter royall '.[4] Here we have a distinction between the sceptre undifferentiated used in the secular enthronement and the sceptre ' royal ' delivered to the king in the abbey. The sceptre royal (possibly the sceptre with the dove for the sovereign's right hand) [5] is certainly one of the sceptres from the coronation regalia, preserved by the Westminster monks as relics of the Confessor, to whom they appealed for their

[1] John Flete, *History of Westminster Abbey* (ed. J. Armitage Robinson, Cambridge, 1909), p. 28.

[2] The *Short English Chronicle* (ed. Gairdner, p. 77) merely states that Edward ' resseyved the septor with his dignite '. Cf. also the *Brief Latin Chonicle*, p. 173, which distinguishes imperfectly between the ceremonies in the hall and the abbey.

[3] *Gough London 10*, p. 162; Whetehamstede, i. 405.

[4] ' Vitellius A xvi ', p. 174. Whetehamstede (*loc. cit.*) terms the sceptre borne in the abbey ' sceptrum regium '.

[5] On the sceptres see Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 65–9.

right to be custodians of the national insignia.[1] Research on the antiquities of the coronation has shown that the simultaneous existence of two sets of regalia must be allowed for, the one being the coronation regalia, the other being the personal regalia of the monarch. If the presence of the sceptres in the abbey among the relics of St. Edward is attested for the mid-fifteenth century by the common list of Flete and Sporley, both monks of Westminster,[2] it is known from inventories of the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries that there were two sets of regalia, of which one, at least in the earlier period, was kept in the Tower.[3] The conclusion therefore would seem to be that the sceptre which Edward held in the King's Bench was his own or derived from the dispossessed Henry VI, and that the Confessor's sceptre was only delivered to him when he entered the abbey.

Should it be necessary to define the moment when the heir to the kingdom was transformed into King Edward IV, the metamorphosis ought doubtless to be placed at the time when the assembly, having beheld him surrounded by his lords [4] as an image of majesty in the King's Bench, hailed him as king. The expressions of popular consent which had been obtained in favour of the title in St. John's Fields [5] and at St. Paul's Cross were already more in the nature of acclamation than election. Despite the obvious irregularity, and the barely concealed threat of violence which marked the gathering in St. John's Fields—a suburban Campus Martius of the period—the verdict on that occasion, however partisan, had certain qualities of an election since the title of Henry VI was propounded and rejected before that of Edward was acclaimed. By the time events shifted to Westminster the association of popular consent with legitimist principle was completed in an archaic and absolutist form. The loud assent which the

[1] For this claim see the remarks of Flete and Sporley quoted in the next notes.

[2] For schedules of regalia, see Schramm, *Ordines III*, p. 373. The list under Flete's name is in his *History of Westminster Abbey* (ed. Armitage Robinson, p. 71), that under Sporley's name is in Legg, *op. cit.*, p. 191 ' S. Edwardus . . . omnia regalia ornamenta in ecclesia hac reservari precepit cum quibus ipse coronatus fuit . . .'

[3] Legg, *op. cit.*, pp. xliv, 79–80, 272–5; Flete, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[4] ' Where he soo beyng sett and his lordys spirituell and temporell standyng abowth hym . . .' (*Great Chronicle*, p. 195). Richard III was attended on his right by Lord Howard (created two days later duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal) and on his left by the duke of Suffolk (Fabyan, p. 669; *Great Chronicle*, p. 232).

[5] ' Georgius Nevyll . . . fecit publicari inter eos titulus quo potuit dictus Edwardus vendicare sibi coronam Angliae et Franciae, et continuo proclamavit omnis ipse populus Edwardum ipsum fore et esse regem. Interfui et audivi . . .' Worcester, *Annales* (ed. Stevenson, ii. 777).

Yorkist title received in the hall of Westminster palace represented no longer a choice—however unreal—between two candidates to the throne but the recognition of an heir to the Crown.[1] The popular voice had become an act of ritual acclamation or 'collaudatio' for which provision was made in the order of coronation.[2] Election, acclamation, lauds of majesty, though not necessarily corresponding with the actual steps of an historical development, are an ideal sequence leading from a popular to an autocratic concept of royalty. Beginning with the brutal forms of popular election in St. John's Fields, proceeding to acclamation in the palace, and terminating with the lauds of majesty in the abbey of Westminster, the Yorkist title moved forward to absolutism. The three episodes correspond with the assertion of the claim, possession of the realm, and submission to the king.

The form in which the acclamation was sought and obtained is not without its intrinsic interest. As if guided by a sense of modesty, all the sources save one refrain from naming the person who addressed the crowd; but Abbot Whetehamstede of St. Albans, who states that Edward himself declared his title, is divergent and unique.[3] Although it might appear inappropriate for the king himself to state his case, such conduct would not be incompatible with the character of Edward IV, who addressed parliament and negotiated his benevolences. If retrospective inferences are admissible it may be allowed that Edward spoke on his own behalf, for when Richard of Gloucester took possession, he, according to a state paper drafted forty-eight hours after, 'declared his mynde that the same day he wold begyn to reigne'.[4]

From the nature of the circumstances this declaration of the title had to be definitive; and it is significant that the version contained in the *Great Chronicle* is a rough summary of the petition by the Commons in the first parliament of Edward IV in November 1461.[5] That petition was then entered 'as of record' on the parliament roll, a procedure applied to the comparable petition on the strength of which Richard III entered upon the throne.[6] Indeed the petition on the roll of King Richard's parliament claims to be a copy of the document which set forth his title at the moment of his

[1] *Gough London 10*, p. 162; 'Vitellius A xvi', p. 174; Fabyan, p. 639; *Great Chronicle*, p. 196.
[2] Schramm (transl. Legg), *op. cit.*, see index 'Collaudatio'.
[3] Whetehamstede, i. 404–5.
[4] *Letters and Papers Richard III, Henry VII* (ed. Gairdner), i. 12.
[5] *Great Chronicle*, pp. 195–6; *Rot. Parl.*, v. 462a–467a.
[6] *Ibid.*, vi. 240a–242a.

accession. The indications are, therefore, that the parliament roll provides a record of King Edward's title as it was put forth in Westminster Hall. The cry of assent signified the commencement of a new reign, and the acceptance of legitimism. It is at this point that the 'Vitellius' chronicle and Fabyan place the king's public oath.[1] The coronation order at the end of the middle ages, confusing the ideal sequence and reversing earlier practice, had brought forward the oath before acclamation.[2] The fact that the public oath of the new king followed and did not precede acclamation may indicate an intention to make clear beyond all doubt that the acclamation was not dependent on the oath.

When comparing the ceremonies in the palace with those which ensued in the abbey, it must be borne in mind that, unlike coronation, the inauguration of the Yorkist kings was primarily a secular matter. The emphasis, reflected by the narrative authorities,[3] is upon the secular enthronement. This is not to suggest that the visit to the minster was a redundant formality, since the outward occurrences of possession were incomplete without delivery of the Confessor's regalia in the Confessor's church.[4] There could be no question of imitating the coronation day procession from the hall to the abbey. The rights of individuals to walk in the procession carrying before the king items of the regalia were among the most coveted coronation services; and to assign those rights without a prior court of claims would be not only dangerous but repugnant. The Yorkist dynasty both understood and respected honorific social distinctions. According to Edward Hall, who, though writing under Henry VIII, is nevertheless often correct in details, King Edward proceeded to the abbey under a canopy.[5] Now the right to carry the canopy over the king was the service of the Barons of the Cinque Ports, and was also the one major duty in the procession which did not fall to a peer to perform. As the Ports were under the control

[1] 'Vitellius A xvi', p. 174; Fabyan, p. 639. According to Fabyan (p. 669), Richard III took the 'royall othe' seated on the King's Bench.

[2] Schramm (transl. Legg), *op. cit.*, p. 171. The 'Little Device' puts acclamation before oath (Legg, *op. cit.*, pp. 228, 230). Before withdrawing from the hall Edward IV may have performed his first act as king, for according to *Gough London 10* (p. 162) the mayor and aldermen of London supplicated for the confirmation of the city franchises, which he allowed. 'Vitellius A xvi' (pp. 174–5) places this episode in the evening of the same day, after the king had returned to the city and dined at the bishop's palace.

[3] With the exception of Whetehamstede.

[4] 'Post declarationem tituli sui, seissivit coronam ac sceptrum sancti regis Edwardi et fecit seipsum proclamari regem Edwardum quartum' (Worcester, *Annales*, ed. Stevenson, ii. 777).

[5] Hall's *Chronicle*, ed. H. Ellis, (1809), p. 254.

of their warden, the earl of Warwick, their coronation claim could be safely recognized.[1]

At the installation of Edward IV, and again, as if by design, at its repetition by Richard III, no part of the Confessor's regalia passed from the hands of its custodian, the convent of Westminster, save direct into those of the king himself. As there was to be no procession with the regalia from the palace to the minster, the abbot did not wait upon the king in the great hall[2]; but on entering the abbey church the king was met by the monks in procession, and received St. Edward's sceptre from the abbot.[3] The reception was reminiscent of that accorded in February 1432 to the young Henry VI, to whom the abbot delivered St. Edward's sceptre[4]; but whereas King Henry had been doubly crowned as king of England and of France, Edward came to take seisin of the regalia, the relics of the Confessor. The new king was conducted to the high altar and to St. Edward's shrine, at each of which he made an offering,[5] and then descending into the choir mounted a throne specially prepared for him.[6] The position of the throne and the performance of homage there shows that it was the so-called 'pulpit', known later as the homage throne, the erection of which was a primary responsibility of the Westminster monks in arranging for a coronation.[7] The order of coronation prescribed that the king, wearing St. Edward's crown and bearing in his right hand the sceptre with the dove and in his left the rod with the cross, should be led to the pulpit, where the primate began the *Te Deum*, and the homage of the peers was received.[8]

The coronation procedure was closely followed. Edward

[1] On the service of the Ports see Schramm (transl. Legg), *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 254. Warwick was appointed warden in 1460, succeeding the dead Humphrey duke of Buckingham (Scofield, *Edward IV*, i. 112).

[2] For the normal coronation procedure see Legg, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii.

[3] Whetehamstede, i. 405; *Gough London 10*, p. 162; 'Vitellius A xvi', p. 174; Fabyan, p. 639; *Great Chronicle*, p. 196.

[4] *Minor Poems of Lydgate*, ed. H. N. MacCracken, pt. ii. (Early English Text Soc., O.S., 192, 1934), pp. 646–7.

[5] Whetehamstede, i. 405; *Gough London 10*, p. 162; Fabyan, p. 639.

[6] '. . . rediit iterum in chorum, ibique intuens solium alterum pro regia celsitudine erectum in ipsum ascendit . . .' (Whetehamstede, i. 405); '. . . and there sett in the quere in a place ordeynyd ffor alle kyngys' (*Great Chronicle*, p. 196, where the session in the homage throne incorrectly precedes the visit to the shrine); '. . . and then cam doune into the quere and sat there in the see . . .' (*Gough London 10*, p. 162).

[7] 'The Little Device' (Legg, *op. cit.*, p. 234), designates the throne as the 'siege royall' and the erection on which it stood as the 'pulpit'. For the position and preparation of the throne see *ibid.*, pp. 81, 173, and for directions of Henry VII see *Collection of Ordinances . . . for the Royal Household* (Society of Antiquaries of London, 1790), p. 122.

[8] Legg, *op cit.*, pp. liii, liv, 99, 234 ('Little Device').

was of course uncrowned, but he probably had both sceptres, as the Milanese envoy reported from Brussels that he had assumed sceptre and rod. The *Te Deum* was sung as he was enthroned, and the homage of peers is well attested.[1] According to Abbot Whetehamstede, Edward again spoke from the throne on behalf of his own title by descent. In view of Whetehamstede's partiality for rhetorical compositions his version of what purports to be Edward's speech is *prima facie* unreliable. Yet, however critical we may be of Whetehamstede's unhistorical use of florid language, his report of the sequel to the king's oration is remarkable. The audience exclaimed in unison a formula which Whetehamstede renders :

> ' Verus vox, Rex Edwardus
> Rectus rex, Rex Edwardus
> Justus, juridicus et legitimus rex, Rex Edwardus
> Cui omnes nos subjici volumus
> Suaeque humillime jugum admittere gubernationis.'

The threefold salutation, the rythmical quality, and the sentiments of humble submission recall ancient liturgies extolling the quasi-sanctified person of the ruler. The refrain is no longer acclamation but veneration and as such is entitled to be called lauds.[2]

If Whetehamstede's evidence were unsupported this anachronistic and exotic formula might be rejected as a pure creation of his antiquarian scholarship ; but two other independent sources, one of them authoritative, relate that the king was greeted with the lauds of majesty. Both the chancellor George Neville and the bishop of Salisbury wrote on 7 April 1461 describing King Edward's accession to the papal legate.[3] On the ceremonial aspect Neville is uninformative, but Richard Beauchamp of Salisbury states : ' . . . unanimi ac admiranda voce virum tituli sui regias laudes acclamarunt ipsumque in regali solio sublimatum ut erat unicus ac verus regni heres dominum suum ligium recognoverunt.'[4] The

[1] ' . . . sua signoria havea acceptato lo sceptro et bachetta regale et tutte le altre ceremonie excepto la untione et la corona . . .' (Brussels, 27 March 1461 : *Calendar of State Papers, Milan*, i. 59). The *Te Deum* is recorded by *Gough London 10*, p. 162 ; *Great Chronicle*, p. 196 ; and homage by ' Vitellius A xvi ', p. 174 ; Fabyan, p. 639 ; ' Hearne's Fragment ' in Sprott, p. 286. The *Great Chronicle* alone speaks of homage done in Westminster hall after the acclamation.

[2] Whetehamstede, i. 405, 407, but note resemblance with the mock salutation of York after Wakefield (*ibid.*, i. 382).

[3] *Calendar of State Papers, Milan*, i. 60–3, 63–5.

[4] *Ibid.*, i. 64. The text of Beauchamp's letter is from a copy made by an Italian scribe, as appears from the words ' humanissimo choragio ' at foot of p. 64.

recognition of the king as liege lord clearly refers to the homage throne, where Beauchamp may be assumed to have done fealty as a spiritual peer; moreover the 'regiae laudes' with which the title was hailed would appear to be associated with the same scene. Subsequently and quite distinct from Beauchamp, the very words 'regiae laudes' are employed by the enigmatic but critical author of the second continuation of the Croyland chronicle, who writing in 1486 said of Edward's installation 'conclamatis ei ab omni populo regiis laudibus'.[1] The liturgical history of the lauds, idiomatically called the 'Christus vincit', virtually ceases in England after the coronation of Richard II[2]; and it is not surprising if our evidence is confined to ecclesiastical sources, for the lay chronographers of London were unlikely to understand anything so remote from their experience. Indeed we might be led to think that the bishop of Salisbury and the Croyland chronicler had forgotten the original sense, and used the term lauds so vaguely as to be historically meaningless, were it not that Whetehamstede reproduces a form of words which can reasonably be related to lauds of majesty. There is then evidence for a supposition that lauds were sung in honour of King Edward's title as he sat on the homage throne. In the English coronation the lauds had preceded the epistle[3]; but as there was no mass at Edward IV's installation, they might be associated not unfittingly with the *Te Deum*.[4] Whether the fragment recorded by Whetehamstede is his own rendering of what he thought lauds should be, or whether it is original, must remain a matter of opinion.

The evidence relating to the ecclesiastical ceremonial at the possession of Richard III indicates that here again he carefully followed the precedents set by his brother twenty-two years earlier. The reception of St. Edward's sceptre from the hands of the abbot, the offering at the high altar and at St. Edward's tomb, the session in the homage throne accompanied by the *Te Deum*, recur in the same sequence.[5] Only the lauds of majesty have left no trace among the meagre and wholly unsympathetic authorities. No banquet in Westminster Hall concluded the installation, for until a court of claims had decided the coronation services, the banquet, like the procession to the minster, could not be attempted. Richard

[1] *Historia Croylandensis Continuatio* (II), p. 550.
[2] E. H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae* (Berkeley, 1946), p. 69, n. 174, 180.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 172 n.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 79, for the much earlier connection between lauds and *Te Deum* in coronation orders.
[5] *Great Chronicle*, p. 232.

III, who was apparently fond of the ancient palace of Westminster, spent the night there following his taking possession,[1] whereas King Edward returned to London by barge and marked his accession by removing his residence from Baynard's, the private mansion of his family, to the bishop's palace at St. Paul's, a recognized royal dwelling place within the city.[2]

Perceiving properly that the one was a political act, the other a matter beyond politics, Edward IV or his council dissociated the ceremony of possession from that of coronation, which took place on 28 June 1461.[3] Despite his impatience to receive the crown Richard III copied his brother's example, and his coronation, or consecration as it was officially termed, was held ten days after his inauguration.[4] There was no liturgical obstacle other than the season of Lent [5] to impede Edward's coronation prior to his departure from London on 13 March,[6] nine days after his accession. When estimating the causes which occasioned the delay of the coronation it is well to remember that in advance of the ceremony there had to be determined claims (perhaps conflicting) of a few great lords to attend in various capacities. The new dynasty had excellent reasons to encourage the nobility to discharge services around the throne, and was prepared occasionally to ignore the divisions of party on behalf of this traditional but practical ideal. For example, the earl of Oxford, despite his Lancastrian affinities, performed at the coronation of the queen in 1465 the duties of a queen's chamberlain, an hereditary office frequently denied to the De Veres.[7]

[1] *Great Chronicle*, p. 232. Besides the great feast at Christmastide 1484 which he held there, Richard III showed his interest in the palace by commencing an impressive gatehouse. Stow's *Survey*, ed. Kingsford, ii. 122.

[2] Henry VI had regularly lodged there.

[3] Scofield, *Edward IV*, i. 182–3. There was a rumour that the coronation would be deferred so that the day of the week should not coincide with that on which the preceding feast of Holy Innocents had fallen, a superstition in regard to which see J. Huizinga, *Wege der Kulturgeschichte* (German transl., Munich, 1930), p. 285.

[4] *Rot. Parl.*, vi. 240a; Gairdner, *Richard III* (edn. 1898), pp. 100–3.

[5] Henry V was crowned in 1413 on the fifth, Queen Katherine in 1421 on the third Sunday in Lent.

[6] Scofield, *op. cit.*, i. 159, or 12 March according to the *Calendar of State Papers, Milan*, i. 61.

[7] He also acted as Great Chamberlain, but as deputy of the earl of Warwick, who then held a grant of this office to which the earls of Oxford had an hereditary claim (*Complete Peerage*, ed. Doubleday, White, and Howard de Walden, x (1945), pp. 217, 240; App. F., p. 62 n.) In 1461 George duke of Clarence (then in his twelfth year) presided as 'senescallus Anglie' the court of claims (Guildhall, Letter Book L, fo. 4r, referring to London's suit for its customary service). The claim of the Oxford burgesses shows that Lord Wenlock was assigned to receive petitions, and that he was counselled by the famous

If the claims to coronation services and the preparations for external pomp are granted their fullest share in contributing to the delay of the coronation, it remains undeniable that the major factor was the obligation on the first Yorkist king to defeat his Lancastrian rival. Indeed the court of claims was an academic question until it could be seen which king and how many of the nobility would survive the test of arms. Trial by battle was not only the means of dispelling uncertainties, but furnished likewise a supernatural criterion. Since Harold fell at Hastings, victory was the supreme authentication of a title ; and on this account Richard III from 1483 to 1485 so passionately desired the armed trial of strength. For a dynasty brought in by civil war the battlefield had a place among the ceremonies of state. On the Yorkist side the heroic attitude to the winning of the crown was heavily publicized,[1] and in King Edward's first parliament the speaker voiced the idea that success in the field was the seal of divine approbation.[2] But the clearest definition comes ten years later from the proclamation issued just after Barnet had begun and before Tewkesbury had completed Edward's restoration. The operative words are unambiguous : ' . . . in suche dyvisione and controversie moved bytwixt prynces upon the high sovereigne power roiall more evident prove or declaracion of trouth, right, and Goddes will, may not be had than by . . . reson, auctorite, and victorie in batailles '.[3]

Of all the obstacles which Edward IV had to face at least until 1471, and Richard III throughout, none was more serious than the purely negative factor that their rule lacked prescriptive right. As Fortescue pointed out, the house of Lancaster enjoyed a prescriptive title,[4] and submission to a dynasty which at times had given them both military glory and skilful government was ingrained in Englishmen. To

Thomas Yonge to whom the Oxford claim was put ; see *Munimenta Civitatis Oxonie*, ed. H. E. Salter (Oxford Historical Soc., lxxi, 1917), p. 222.

[1] *Historia Croylandensis Continuatio* (I), p. 532 ; Wavrin, *Croniques*, ed. Hardy (Rolls Series), v. 331, 333.

[2] *Rot. Parl.*, v. 463a, also Edward IV writing to Thomas Cook, alderman of London, 13 March 1462 (Ellis, *Original Letters*, II, i. 130).

[3] *Foedera*, xi. 709–11 (27 April 1471).

[4] The relevant passages in Fortescue's works are cited and examined by Chrimes, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 64–5. Cf. also the succession award of 1460 ' consideryng the possession of the seid king Henry, and that he hath for his tyme bee named, taken and reputed kyng ' (*Rot. Parl.*, v. 378b). Allowing for the partiality of Louis XI for Lancaster, the remarks of De Commynes are nevertheless significant for informed opinion abroad : ' . . . Henry, qui maintz ans avoit regné en Angleterre, lequel, selon mon jugement et selon le monde, estoit vray roy . . .' (*Mémoires*, ed. J. Calmette and G. Durville, ii. 332–3).

off-set the absence of a prescriptive authority, the Yorkist kings had recourse to tradition, in itself an artificially cultivated form of prescription, and by presenting in their own persons the popularly understood image of royalty, they sought to identify their rule with the reputed unchanging character of the English crown. To revive amidst times of notorious lawlessness the cherished myth of the king as the righteous judge, King Edward in 1462 sat in the King's Bench and, assisted by his chancellor, like a king in a tapestry or a romance, heard the case of a distressed widow.[1] Richard III no sooner occupied the King's Bench to possess himself of the realm than he harangued the judges and himself pardoned Sir John Fogg.[2] However praiseworthy the attempt to enforce justice, such action was more in keeping with high royalist theory than with constitutional usage ; and Fortescue in exile possibly perceived the implications of the archaic innovation when for the instruction of the Lancastrian prince of Wales he wrote sternly : ' proprio ore nullus regum Anglie judicium proferre visus est '.[3]

To suppose that obsolete practices were revived merely to gain prestige by identifying the ruler with a legendary conception would do less than justice to the continuity of English medieval history. Historical continuity and historical recurrence, the latter in the sense that recurring conditions produce recurring methods of control, can be illustrated by the renewed importance of crown-wearings outside of parliament. In the fifteenth century as in the twelfth, crown-wearing was intended to stabilize, by an appeal to the visual senses, social conditions which had become dangerously fluid. To tranquillize public opinion, the victorious Yorkists brought out Henry VI wearing his crown in a procession to St. Paul's on Whit-Sunday 1455, despite the wound in his neck sustained three days previously at St. Albans.[4] At a crown-wearing the identity between the person and the office of the king could be intuitively perceived, because the formal and actual seat of authority was unmistakably apparent. Indeed, at Christmas and New Year of 1484–85 Richard III not only wore his crown in public, but held a banquet in Westminster Hall as on the day of his

[1] C. H. Williams, ' A Fifteenth-Century Law Suit ', *Law Quarterly Review*, xl (1934), 354–64.

[2] Gairdner, *History of Richard III* (edn. 1898), pp. 98–100.

[3] Fortescue, *De Laudibus* . . . (ed. S. B. Chrimes, 1942), pp. 22, 150 n.

[4] *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. R. Flenley, pp. 108, 152 ; ' Vitellius A xvi ', p. 172. According to Stow (*Annales*, edn. 1631, fo. 423a), Henry VI immediately on his readeption ' went crowned ' to St. Paul's, but I have not found the source of Stow's information.

coronation.[1] Lest it be imagined from the foregoing examples that crown-wearing was the expedient of a tottering government, it should be remembered that Edward IV and Richard III 'went crowned' at times when the authority of neither was in any sense materially endangered. The crown-wearings which they held shortly after their several coronations were to compensate for their lack of prescriptive right and to familiarize the people with their rule. On the two days succeeding his coronation Edward IV wore his crown at Westminster and St. Paul's respectively.[2] At York barely two months after his coronation Richard III, his queen, and their son, wore their crowns with the maximum of publicity.[3] Their policy may not have lacked contemporary critics, since a writer, who was a clericalist supporter of the Nevilles, deprecates King Edward's attempt to improve upon the unique glory of coronation.[4]

The representation of an angel which at St. Paul's descended and censed Edward IV,[5] the pageants and hangings which decorated York for Richard III,[6] distinguish from the earlier crown-wearings the Yorkist ceremonies, which resemble contemporary receptions of princes or ambassadors and the 'joyous entries' of continental sovereigns. At an earlier period the ceremony was essentially one for the baronial court; but the Yorkist kings, although they too wore their crowns within the court, frequently made the occasion a spectacle for loyal subjects, chiefly citizens. The public and processional character of the event is implicit in the idiom of that age 'the

[1] *Historia Croylandensis Continuatio* (II), p. 571.

[2] 'Vitellius A xvi', p. 176; *Brief Latin Chronicle*, p. 174; *Great Chronicle*, p. 198.

[3] *Historia Croylandensis Continuatio* (II), p. 567; Polydor Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (ed. A. Thysius, Leiden, 1651, pp. 693, 694, 695); *York Civic Records*, ed. A. Raine, i (Yorkshire Archaeological Soc., Record Series, XCVIII, 1939), pp. 77–82. According to Hall (*Chronicle*, edn. 1809, p. 380) Richard was 'appareilled in his circot robe royall', and the surcoat was one of the garments normally worn at a coronation; see Legg, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

[4] 'Qui [Edw. IV] etiam gloriam glorie volens superaddere ...' (*Brief Latin Chronicle*, p. 174.) The Croyland Chronicle (*loc. cit.*) states that a date was fixed for a repetition at York of Richard's coronation; but except for a marginal note it does not say that a re-enactment of the coronation took place. The credibility of a second coronation has been examined and dismissed (R. Davies, *Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York*, 1843, pp. 280–8). The probable explanation is, that the Croyland writer, who was hostile to Richard III, but had a real regard for historical truth, desired to present the normal crown wearing as an unusual act of a tyrant, but could not truthfully say that the king had been recrowned. Possibly the chronicler is appealing to a section of public opinion which disliked crown-wearing as an undesirable innovation, a sentiment already apparent in the *Brief Latin Chronicle*.

[5] 'Vitellius A xvi', p. 176.

[6] *York Civic Records*, i, 77, 81.

king went crowned '.[1] If information were more complete about the court of Edward IV, it would probably be found that the king regularly ' went crowned ' for the feast of Christmas and New Year, a custom which was not abandoned by Henry VII.[2] For the Yorkist kings the wearing of the crown was by no means purely ornamental, but symbolic of their acquisition and defence of it. The full significance of ceremonial crown-wearing becomes apparent in the light of King Richard's decision at Bosworth to carry into battle the crown, qualified as ' preciossima corona ', perhaps therefore none other than ' the rich crown ' of the Confessor.[3] Richard III did not survive the crisis of his reign ; but his brother Edward IV emerging victorious from Barnet and Tewkesbury wore his crown at Westminster for the following Christmas and New Year of 1471–72.[4]

Additional Note

After their several periods of captivity, King Stephen and Richard I had removed any persisting defect in their titles by recoronation.[5] After his return from exile Edward IV also felt the need for recrowning ; as if expulsion from the realm during the Lancastrian readeption impaired his authority until he had formally received again the crown and sceptre at Westminster. This recoronation, which like those of kings Stephen and Richard omitted the repetition of anointing, was seemingly private, and since it is not mentioned in the officially distributed report of his restoration,[6] it was no doubt performed to satisfy the personal scruples of the king himself. There is no good reason to reject the evidence of a coeval political poem, which from its character must be deemed to have originated in circles close to the throne and is entitled by an ancient hand

[1] ' Vitellius A xvi ', p. 176 ; *Great Chronicle*, p. 198 ; ' Record of Bluemantle Pursuivant ' in C. L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature of the Fifteenth Century*, p. 379. On earlier crown wearings see Schramm (transl. Legg), *op. cit.*, index.

[2] On Twelfth night, 1488 (Leland, *Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne, (edn. 1770), iv. 235). On All Saints, 1494 (*Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, vi. 152 ; see also *Collection of Ordinances . . . for the Royal Household*, Society of Antiquaries of London, 1790, pp. 120–1).

[3] *Historia Croylandensis Continuatio* (II), pp. 573–4. See Scofield, *op. cit.*, i. 183 n., for references to the ' rich crown of king Edward ' or simply the ' rich crown ' delivered to the Treasury in August 1461 after the coronation of Edward IV, and subsequently (March 1462) transferred to the custody of the keeper of the king's jewels.

[4] ' Bluemantle Pursuivant ', *loc. cit.* Sir John Paston writes from ' The More ', 8 Jan. 1472 : ' the kyng hath kept a ryall Crystmesse ' (*Paston Letters*, v. 131).

[5] Schramm, *Ordines Studien III*, pp. 324–5, 335.

[6] Kingsford, *English Historical Literature . . .*, p. 175.

'the Ballad of the King'.[1] According to this source, on Maundy Thursday 1471, the day on which he re-entered London, Edward IV was rowed to Westminster where the queen lay in sanctuary, and after his devotions at the tomb of the Confessor, was invested by the archbishop of Canterbury with crown and sceptre.[2]

[1] *Political Poems . . .*, ed. T. Wright (Rolls Series) ii, pp. lxvii-lxix, 271–82.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 274.

THE DIPLOMACY OF DR. JOHN ROBINSON AT THE COURT OF CHARLES XII OF SWEDEN, 1697–1709

The Alexander Prize Essay

By Mrs. June Milne, B.A.

Read 14 June 1947

It is not possible[1] to study the diplomacy of the war of the Spanish Succession without taking into account the Northern war which threatened in 1707 to upset the whole strategy of the Grand Allies. Ever since the formation of the League of Augsburg France had tried to win Sweden to her side, and the apparent military genius of Charles XII made her an even more desirable ally. Sweden might have seen much to recommend such an alliance, particularly in 1707 when Swedish disputes with the Empire took on a new importance, and when the prestige of the Grand Allies had suffered by the defeat at Almanza and the failure of the Toulon expedition. But this turning-point in the Spanish Succession war came and passed, Charles XII turned eastwards against Russia and disputes with the Empire ended in agreement. Never again were the two separate wars in danger of becoming one.

The diplomacy of Dr. John Robinson, English envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Charles XII, helped immeasurably to this end. Yet he had none of the spectacular brilliance of a Torcy or a Bolingbroke, and remains no more than a name in most histories of the period, for he lived among dazzling contemporaries. The Duke of Marlborough, Louis XIV, Charles XII, Peter the Great dominated the scene, but as in chess where kings and knights are unable to shape victory on their own, so Robinson was a very well-placed and necessary pawn in the diplomatic game of the crucial middle years of the Spanish Succession war.

He was born of humble parents in Cleasby, Yorkshire, in 1650, and studied at Oxford, where he graduated in 1673. He went to Sweden in 1680 as chaplain to the English embassy

[1] The following abbreviations are used :

P.R.O., S.P.F. . . Public Record Office. State Papers Foreign.
B.M., Add. MSS. . . . British Museum. Additional Manuscript.

All dates are in new style and quotations contain the original spelling and punctuation.

in Stockholm, and it was then that his diplomatic career really began, for he at once made a serious study of the Swedish language and institutions and soon took an active part in diplomatic affairs, becoming indispensable to the English envoy William Duncombe. He remained in Sweden until the end of 1702 with the exception of a short visit to England in the summer of 1696, when he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Lambeth. In the absence of Duncombe in 1684 he acted as agent to the embassy, later becoming secretary, then agent again. He was made Minister Resident in 1696, and it was in this capacity that he presented his credentials to the boy King Charles XII in 1697.

Robinson was by then well established in Swedish political circles. He had obtained the firm friendship of the pro-Allied minister of foreign affairs, Count Oxenstiern, and had through him baulked several French attempts to persuade Sweden to renounce her neutrality and enter the war of the League of Augsburg on her side. Commercial disputes between England and Sweden might at any time have thrown Sweden into the arms of France, for England resented the harsh laws passed in Sweden against foreign merchants residing there, and Sweden equally took exception to Anglo-Dutch attempts to stop her trade with France. Robinson succeeded in preventing these differences from causing a definite breach between the two countries, and Sweden continued to remain neutral in the war.

On the accession of Charles XII in 1697 the situation at first remained much the same. Oxenstiern had the main direction of foreign affairs, although by the end of the year Charles XII had dispensed with the Regency Council. Robinson's instructions as Minister Resident were dated 31 December 1696,[1] but they still applied in the new reign. He was instructed to present his credentials to the king and to say that England hoped Sweden would join with her in common measures against France; he was at the same time to let the king know that England would accept his mediation in the war if the States were also agreeable; he was to keep in close touch with all foreign envoys in Stockholm representing countries allied to England, and to use his utmost endeavours to prevent war between Sweden and Denmark. He was to penetrate all the 'Councills and Designs' of the Swedish court. With regard to commercial matters he was to 'protect and countenance on all Occasions our Subjects trading to any

[1] P.R.O., S.P.F. Entry Book 104/153. Trumbull to Robinson. 14 Jan. 1697.

the Dominions of that Crown', but not to sponsor the efforts of individual merchants.[1] He was also to try to secure the annulment of the law of 1617[2] against foreign merchants which had recently been renewed and enforced, and to follow any instructions sent to him. He was to 'correspond with our Ambrs & Ministers in Forraign Courts for your mutual Information & Assistance in your respective Negotiations', and to inform himself 'of all matters & affaires relating to that Government & the Ministers principally employ'd in it, so as to be able to give us a Perfect Account of the State of that Monarchy as with the relation to their Affaires abroad, as at Home'. This last instruction was superfluous, because his despatches were remarkable for the wealth of information they gave on political, commercial and social affairs. Robinson seldom mentioned an incident or a situation without giving the historical background.

The War of the League of Augsburg ended in 1697, but the Peace of Ryswick, in which Sweden mediated, was little more than a truce, and both France and the Allies hoped to be able to count on Swedish support in a future war. Sweden, however, had her own troubles. Russia, Poland and Denmark were openly planning attacks upon her, and war broke out early in 1699.

Robinson was naturally more interested in safeguarding the Allied position in the West than in contemplating Sweden's own difficulties. Negotiations for a defensive alliance had opened at the Hague between Sweden on the one side and England and the Netherlands on the other, and it was Robinson's task to keep Williamson and Blathwayt at the Hague fully informed of developments in Sweden, and to keep the Swedes 'in their good Temper by giving them good words'.[3] For although the actual discussions were taking place outside Sweden, the centre of gravity still remained Stockholm, or wherever Charles XII happened to be. On several occasions Robinson warned Blathwayt of Swedish

[1] Robinson had previously shown special regard for the interests of Mr. Robert Jackson, a leading English merchant in Stockholm.

[2] The law made it illegal for foreign merchants to stay in Sweden for more than two months in any one year unless they became burghers; as Robinson pointed out to Shrewsbury, 'none of them incline to become Burghers, becaus if they do, they lose all their credit in England, they must turn Lutherans, or have no exercise of Religion, and if they would at any time quitt their Burghership, must leave a third part of their estates to the City, besides the yearly and arbitary contributions they must pay'. P.R.O., S.P.F. 95/14. 14 Nov. 1694.

[3] P.R.O., S.P.F. Entry Book 104/153. Trumbull to Robinson. 29 Oct. 1695. The Secretary was here referring to the Flag dispute which was then being discussed at the Hague, but his words had equal application in 1698.

impatience at the slowness of the Hague negotiations. 'Monsieur Lillieroot continues to write Hither that He uses all possible means to advance his Negotiation, but meets with much backwardness'.[1] It was probably Oxenstiern who kept Robinson informed of the contents of Lillieroot's despatches, Robinson passing on the information to the English negotiators at the Hague, who must have found it useful to know what the Swedish envoy was saying to his government.

French agents were trying to turn Charles XII from the Allies, and it required all Robinson's skill to retain his favoured position. Disputes between the Empire and Sweden were giving impetus to French advances, and Robinson drew up a project for settling them which Oxenstiern laid before the king, 'who much approv'd the Pains I took therein, and was well-inclin'd to have that Difference agreed upon such a foot'.[2] But in spite of his tireless efforts to prevent it, an agreement was signed between Sweden and France in July 1698. Oxenstiern assured Robinson that it contained merely a formal avowal of friendship and general expressions in favour of European peace, the agreement amounting 'to no more than such a general obligation to entertain Friendship, as cou'd neither in common civility be declin'd, nor will be any lett to closer measures with others'.[3]

This in fact was correct, as negotiations at the Hague proved. A treaty was signed between England and Sweden on 6 January 1700 and a similar one to include the States just a week later. This preliminary treaty was later merged into the defensive alliance between England, the States and Sweden on 5 August 1703. These alliances represented a considerable personal triumph for Robinson, in spite of the fact that much of the actual negotiating had been done at the Hague. Robinson's work had ensured Stockholm's favourable attitude towards the Allies, without which no treaty would have been possible.

But Robinson was not able to carry out his instructions so successfully with regard to commercial matters. On 1 March 1701 he sent Secretary Vernon 'such heads as to me seem proper for regulating the trade of Sweden at this Conjuncture',[4] suggesting that the commercial treaty made between England and Sweden in 1661 should remain operative

[1] B.M., Add. MSS. 35,106. Robinson to Blathwayt. 4 Nov. 1699.
[2] P.R.O., S.P.F. 95/15. Robinson to Williamson. 11 May 1698. The Elector Palatine claimed the Duchy of Veldents, which Sweden regarded as her own.
[3] P.R.O., S.P.F. 95/15. Robinson to Williamson. 20 July 1698.
[4] P.R.O., S.P.F. 95/15. Robinson to Williamson. 20 July 1698.

until superseded. His draft scheme was general in character, but dealt with most of the points on which disputes had arisen. It made no reference, however, to foreign merchants in Sweden. Robinson probably hoped that their position would automatically improve when other commercial problems were settled. In the meantime he was unable to secure an annulment of the law of 1617.

Political events moved fast and left no more time for the consideration of commercial matters before Robinson left Sweden. Oxenstiern had died in July and Robinson wrote, that 'Sweden seems to be on a precipice'.[1] Charles XII was bent on dethroning Augustus of Poland, and it looked like being a long war.

With the Swedish king in Poland, Robinson was able to do little in Stockholm, and he accordingly received instructions[2] at the end of December 1702 to proceed to Poland as envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Charles XII and Augustus II. He was to present his credentials, 'whereof wee have sent you two, one with the title of envoy extraordinary and the other without any character, that you may make use of either as you find occasion'. With regard to Charles XII, Robinson was to make it known to him that England intended to stand by the treaty of Travendahl and other engagements made with Sweden, going on to suggest a 'stricter Union and Allyance for the Peace and Liberty of Europe which are at present in so great Danger by the exorbitant Power of France and its close Conjuncture with Spain'. He was to assure Charles of English goodwill and to urge peace between Poland and Sweden, by means of English mediation if required. Charles XII was also to be invited to join the Grand Alliance and to supply as many troops as could be agreed upon; but Robinson was not to press this point unless the king seemed amenable. If he were, Robinson was to find out from him what terms he would accept from Poland. It was hoped that thus the Allies would receive 12,000 troops from Sweden and 8,000 from Poland on the conclusion of peace between the two countries. Then came the link with the Secret Service. 'You shall inform yourself as exactly as you can of the King of Sweden's forces and designs . . . who are his Principall ministers and advisers, and how they stand affected towards an accomodation or to the Continuance of the Warr, and whether any of them entertain any Correspondence with France'. He was to make similar inquiries as regards the

[1] P.R.O., S.P.F. 95/15. Robinson to Hedges. 12 July 1702.
[2] P.R.O., S.P.F. Entry Book 104/153. 11 Dec. 1702.

Polish court, and to work in close co-operation with the Imperial and Dutch envoys.

His instructions were clear enough, but little help was given in the matter of 'means'. Robinson was to penetrate an unfamiliar country in depth of winter in search of two kings whose exact whereabouts were unknown; he was to discover their intentions, send back as much information as possible about troop movements, and do all in his power to mediate between them: all this without pre-arranged plans for the speedy and secret sending back of information and without organized help. Robinson was expected to be explorer, negotiator and spy all in one.

He left Sweden in January 1703 and arrived in Stralsund on the 18th after an extremely hazardous journey by sea. He then proceeded to Warsaw by way of Dantzig, where Lieut.-Colonel Brown, a Scottish officer in the army of Augustus II, invited him to visit the court at Marienburg. Robinson declined the invitation for fear that it might offend Charles XII if he visited an enemy court before seeking audience with him.

The Swedish Resident urged Robinson to remain in Warsaw and await the arrival of Charles XII, but the obvious anxiety shown by the French envoy, Bonae, lest Robinson should proceed to seek out Charles XII, made him decide to do so. On 9 March he reached Lublin 'within two English miles of the King of Sweden's Quarters, but was inform'd the same night, that His Majty would march from thence the next morning'.[1] Robinson thereupon sent his secretary to the Swedish Count Piper to ask for an immediate audience, but received the reply that Charles XII was already on the march. Disbelieving this, Robinson himself called on Piper and learnt from him that Charles XII had refused to see any foreign envoys. Robinson then played his last card and won; he told Piper that he 'was sent as a letter carrier rather than as a Minister . . . that I had not only a Letter to deliver to Him from the Queen my Mistresse, but was allso charg'd with Letters from the Queen Mother of Sweden, the Duchess Dowager of Holstein, and the Princess Ulrica, His Majty's Sisters'.[2] Piper was impressed, and arranged an audience for the following morning.

There has been much controversy about the subsequent meeting between Robinson and Charles XII, and this may be due in part to stories circulated at the time by the French,

[1] P.R.O., S.P.F. 95/15. Robinson to Hedges. 11 March 1703.
[2] P.R.O., S.P.F. 95/15. Robinson to Hedges. 11 March 1703.

who were naturally anxious to belittle its importance. Nisbet Bain [1] was one of many who seem to have been misled by them, since he said that the meeting was pure chance and lasted for more than an hour. The meeting certainly took place in the open air, which was unorthodox enough, but the French went on to maintain that Robinson kept the king standing too long and was therefore responsible for the cold which he caught at this time. The accusation is a strange one, especially as Robinson stated categorically that the meeting did not last more than five minutes. He, if anyone, would have been only too glad to have claimed the favour of a longer meeting. In view of these confused stories, it may be as well to give Robinson's account of the meeting in his own words. He wrote to Secretary Hedges from Levartoff, twelve miles from Lublin, where the Swedish camp was then situated :

> Being come to within two English mile of it, I observ'd a party of Horse coming towards me, and comeing nearer observ'd the King was at the Head of them, who haveing been told by Major Gen[l] Posse Coll[l] of the Guards that 'twas I that was comeing towards them, His Majty stopt, and I forthwith went out of my Chaise and addressing myself to Him, I made a short compliment, and added that Her Majty the Queen of Great Britain had sent me to Him, and if it were His Majty's pleasure I would just in that place take my audience, and tell him what I had to say. His Majty was well pleas'd with the offer, and sitting on Horseback bareheaded gave great attention to what I said in Swedish.[2]

It may have been the account of the meeting in the open that led Bain to suppose that it was entirely accidental, and probably Robinson himself did not envisage just such an audience, but Bain was evidently unaware that he had even been promised one.[3]

Robinson congratulated the king on his victories and assured him of English friendship, adding that England hoped for ' a yet nearer and stricter Allyance ' with Sweden. He went on to say that he was grieved to see Sweden beset by

[1] R. Nisbet Bain, *Charles XII and the Collapse of the Swedish Empire* (1895).

[2] P.R.O., S.P.F. 95/15. 14 March 1703.

[3] Piper did not promise Robinson an audience straight away during his interview with him, but said he would have to get in touch with Charles XII and find out if he were agreeable. Robinson had to include the notice of Charles XII's consent as a postscript to his despatch, ' Just at the closeing of my 'tre I receive advice, that the King will give me audience tomorrow morning '.

so many enemies, as Protestant Europe needed her help, and for this reason he hoped for a speedy peace in the North. He then conveyed the good wishes of the Swedish royal family and said how they hoped to see Charles XII safely back in Sweden before long. Charles XII could not but smile at the ill-disguised attempt to put the wish of the Allies into the mouths of his own family. ' His Majty made no reply to this Harangue, save only that at my request He was pleas'd to give me leave to remain some time in the Camp.' He did not wish to miss the opportunity of obtaining useful information from some of the Swedish officers.

Robinson later apologized to Hedges for not trying to interest the king in peace with Poland or in membership of the Grand Alliance. He had been strongly advised, possibly by Piper, not to be importunate with Charles, as he was in no mood to be turned from his designs. Hedges fully approved Robinson's action : ' you did well in omitting the two Points you mention ',[1] and Charles himself spoke well of the interview. Robinson ascertained from several of the Swedish courtiers that ' His Majty was perfectly well pleas'd as with the Substance, so allso with the manner of my Audience. And several of the Court tell me, they have not in a great while observ'd His Majty to be in so good humor as He was the rest of that day '.[2] Charles subsequently replied in writing to Robinson's address that he was anxious for the friendship of England, but did not at present desire her mediation in the war.

Robinson remained in the Swedish camp a short time and then returned to Warsaw, where he was warmly greeted by Zinzendorf, the Imperial envoy, and Haersolte, the Dutch minister. They rightly deemed it a great triumph for Robinson to have obtained an audience at all, since Charles XII had repeatedly made it known that he would see no foreign ministers.

In June 1703 Robinson was received in audience by Augustus II, and left satisfied that the Polish king was anxious for peace but would not submit to his own dethronement. The Allied ministers in Warsaw thereupon drew up peace proposals and sent them to Charles XII for his consideration. These were approved by the so-called Republic of Poland, led by Cardinal Radjouski, but the war continued, and at the end of October 1703 Augustus was compelled to

[1] P.R.O., S.P.F. Entry Book 104/153. Hedges to Robinson. 2 April 1703.

[2] P.R.O., S.P.F. 95/15. Robinson to Hedges. 14 March 1703.

leave Warsaw, and Robinson himself left for Dantzig early in December. As British representative to two courts at the same time he was in a strange and difficult position. It was left to his own judgement where he should reside and since he could not attempt, even if he were willing, to keep in personal touch with both sides at the same time, he chose to live as near as possible to the fighting area without becoming involved in it. He was then able to keep a close watch on developments and was in a good position to mediate. But it was for commercial as well as political reasons that he moved to Dantzig in 1703.

He had three main objects. First, to protect and further British trading interests in Dantzig; secondly, to strive against French influence, and thirdly, to deal with the ever-pressing question of commercial relations with Sweden and her trade with France. In the first two, Robinson achieved notable success, but in the third the results of his work must have disappointed him. A trade convention was concluded between England and Dantzig in 1706 and ratified in 1707, 'for the ease of Her Majtys Subjects in their Trade there'.[1] Bonae, French envoy in Dantzig, was also working to obtain a trade understanding with the city, but as early as April 1704 Robinson was able to write confidently that, 'the agreement the French envoy was endeavouring to make is entirely frustrated'.[2] Any setback to France, however small, was of value to the Allied cause, and the French failure in Dantzig robbed her of what might have been valuable trading concessions. Yet in spite of this initial success against French influence, Robinson never took his own pre-eminence in the city for granted. In June 1706 he gave Harley a full account of the celebrations he organized in Dantzig on the occasion of the new Allied victories in the West. Robinson knew something of psychology and realized the need for a public display of power in order to gain confidence.

> I humbly hope it will not be taken amisse that upon the occasion of the glorious successes, it has pleas'd Allmighty God to grant Her Majesty and Her Allys, I have not had patience to wait for Orders about makeing a publick rejoyceing at this place; where the concours of several forain Ministers, the good affection of these people, and the credit and interest, of so great a number of British subjects seem'd to require that something should be done to testify our joy, and damp the vanity of the French,

[1] P.R.O., S.P.F. 88/17. Robinson to Harley. 16 Oct. 1706.
[2] P.R.O., S.P.F. 88/16. Robinson to Hedges. 5 April 1704.

> who for a good while have pretended all the matter of joy was to be on their side, and had made preparations for it.

He went on to describe the nature of the rejoicing, adding,

> I wish your Honor be as well content with me, and that I may have leave to charge this Article in my Extrys. After the Battle of Blenheim I made an entertainment of this kinde, but much less, the expense whereof not exceeding £40 I forebore to mention it. But this will come to near £150 and if not allow'd might tempt me to repent my too forward zeal.[1]

The celebrations and expenditure were duly approved.

With regard to Britain's trade with Sweden, Robinson was working at a disadvantage in not being able to attend the Swedish court. The main question at issue was the purchase from Sweden of ships' masts and pitch and tar for the British navy. Robinson was able to arrange for a quantity of masts to be supplied, but Sweden continued to refuse to allow pitch and tar to be sold unless it was conveyed to England in Swedish ships. She likewise refused to limit her trade with France.

Politically, Robinson's work in Dantzig was also of value to the Allied cause, since it was largely due to his mediation between the Swedish forces under General Meyerfeldt and the city magistrates that Dantzig escaped destruction. It was on his advice that the city paid the dues and granted the supplies Sweden demanded of her. If these had been refused, Dantzig might have suffered the same fate as Thorn and Elbing.

Robinson was unable to do much to further the cause of peace between Charles and Augustus, but his detailed reports on the military situation must have been of immense value to the home government in formulating policy. Writing to Harley on 19 July 1704 Robinson showed extraordinary insight into the character of Charles XII. He said that he was unaffected by the suffering his wars caused to his people and that his great designs would permit of no alteration. Charles considered that the guarantors of the Treaty of Oliva had deserted him in his time of need, and he therefore was not concerned with furthering their cause: 'I am sorry to add that it does not well appear His Majty is much guided by the consideration of his own interest'.[2] In March he had written: 'An English Merchant is come hither from Archangel; He says the opinion there is, that the Czar will on no terms consent to part with the places he has taken from the Suedes

[1] P.R.O., S.P.F. 88/17. Robinson to Harley. 1 June 1706.
[2] P.R.O., S.F.P. 88/16.

upon the Baltick shore ; that he has a very numerous Army, which begins to be well disciplin'd '. This news proved to be correct. The Russian army, reorganized on Western lines by Peter the Great, was more than a match for the Swedes in 1709, but few would have guessed in 1704 that this would be the case. The broad headlines of events would have become known in time in any case ; it was the detail, the news behind the news, which counted, and which Robinson was so well qualified to give.

Charles XII began the invasion of Saxony in August 1706, and early in October Robinson and the Dutch minister left Dantzig for Leipzig. Charles had halted at Alt Ranstadt, and let it be known that foreign envoys would be allowed to frequent the Swedish Court. Peace had been agreed between Charles and Augustus in November 1706, the news coming as some surprise to Robinson, for Augustus renounced his throne in favour of Stanislaus Lescinzski, the Swedish nominee.

On his arrival in Leipzig, Robinson lost no time in renewing his acquaintance with leading Swedish ministers, assisted socially by his wife. She entertained Piper, Hermeline and his wife and Cederhielm's wife ' from about 4 a'clock to near eleaven at night '.[1] It is difficult to ascertain the exact part played by Mrs. Robinson in her husband's diplomatic life, for she is seldom mentioned, but it appears she was, if not brilliant, at least an adequate political hostess. Robinson wrote with obvious pride of her in February 1707 when she was singled out for conversation by Charles XII during a social evening at the house of Field-Marshal Reenshield : ' My wife had the honour that the King of Sueden talk'd very familiarly with her near half an hour, and seem'd content with what she said, being in Suedish. It is esteem'd a greater grace than ever His Majty show'd to any stranger before '.[2]

It was Robinson's main task to prevent a Swedish attack upon the Empire or an understanding with France, yet subsidiary questions such as whether the Allies should give official recognition to Stanislaus, or should employ Augustus's troops against France, were also important. France was quick to recognize Stanislaus, but it was not until March 1707 that England followed suit. If it had not been for Robinson's repeated and urgent notes, recognition might have been much longer delayed. As it was, Charles XII had been caused unnecessary irritation at a time when his goodwill was essential to Allied strategy. Negotiations proceeded at the Hague about

[1] P.R.O., S.P.F. 88/17. Robinson to Harley. 11 Dec. 1706.
[2] P.R.O., S.P.F. 88/17. Robinson to Harley. 15 Feb. 1707.

the fate of Augustus's troops, Robinson informing Augustus of British proposals and reporting back his replies. He did not himself finally settle the matter, though he did much to advance discussions on both sides.

Another potential danger to good relations between England and Sweden which Robinson did much to minimize, was the Allied delay in giving their official guarantee to the Polish treaty. Robinson awaited instructions for as long as he dared, and then drew up an Act of Guarantee *sub spe rati*, and so saved the situation.

French envoys, chief among them Besenwald, were always active, having many interviews with Swedish ministers. In December 1706 Hermeline told Robinson that the French had asked Charles XII to mediate in the Spanish Succession war, but he would not do so unless the Allies also agreed. Nevertheless Harley recommended Robinson to follow the Dutch lead in asking Charles to renew Article 3 of the 1703 treaty whereby signatories undertook not to assist each other's enemies ; but as was often the case, he left the final decision to Robinson : ' Her Majesty therefore leaves the whole matter entirely to your judgement to do in it what you think best, who are upon the spot and know the temper of the King and his ministers so well '.[1] Robinson evidently thought such a step might help to clear the air, since he had already, on his own authority, broached the subject to Piper, and Charles had returned the answer that the Article was quite clear and in need of no renewal. Yet danger of a Swedish attack upon the Empire still remained, and this was the main reason for Marlborough's visit to Alt Ranstadt in April 1707. The Empire was falling behind in her efforts against France, and excusing herself on the grounds of the Swedish menace to her territories.

Lediard's [2] complaint that historians had dealt too lightly with the famous meeting seems to have been taken so seriously by subsequent historians that they have in some cases overestimated its significance. Marlborough's main objects were to prevent Charles from coming to terms with the French and from attacking the Empire. The former was a long-standing cause, one on which Robinson had been working ever since he entered the diplomatic service, and the second was still not satisfactorily settled when Marlborough left Alt Ranstadt. Throughout his career Robinson had done all he could to

[1] P.R.O., S.P.F. Entry Book 104/154. Harley to Robinson. 28 Jan. 1707.

[2] In his book *The Life of John Duke o Marlborough*, vol. ii.

spoil French chances, and it was he who had recommended suitable presents to the Swedish ministers, and had steadily and consistently put the Allied case to the Swedish Court. It seems apparent now that Charles XII never intended to intervene in the Spanish Succession war, but that was by no means clear in 1707. Marlborough himself said that he left Alt Ranstadt satisfied that Sweden had no engagement with France ; it is significant that he did not claim to have turned Charles XII from a French alliance. On the contrary, he intimated that the Allied position was already assured. With regard to the danger of war between Sweden and the Empire, this remained until September 1707 when an agreement was reached, and once again it was Robinson who had the greater share in the making of it.

Marlborough was met outside Leipzig by Robinson and the Dutch envoy. Robinson was present at all the interviews between the Swedish king and Marlborough, acting officially as interpreter. Marlborough relied on him to send back detailed accounts of the meeting to the government, and also to advise him on the various matters under discussion, and the best method of approach to the Swedish ministers. For instance, Robinson's specialized knowledge of North European affairs must have been invaluable to Marlborough when he was called upon to consider the dispute between Holstein-Gottorp and Denmark and the vexed question of the Lübeck bishopric. These questions were discussed at special conferences between Marlborough, Piper, Hermeline and Görtz the Holstein minister, but the work was only partially concluded. It was later left to Robinson when he was in Hamburg to mediate between Denmark and Holstein for a final and detailed settlement and to resolve the Lübeck bishopric dispute.

Marlborough stayed at Alt Ranstadt only a very short time ' I left that court on the 29th . . . fully persuaded that that Prince has no manner of engagement with the French . . . only I was sorry to observe a great deal of coolness towards the court of Vienna '.[1] Writing from the Hague in May 1707, just after his Alt Ranstadt visit, he mentioned discussions on Holstein, adding, ' I observed Mr Robinson to be perfectly well with the Court ; and as he has the reputation to be a man of great integrity, and is fully informed in this business, I conceive he would be the most proper to be employed by the Queen at the congress

[1] Marlborough to Harley. The Hague, 10 May 1707. *Letters and Despatches of the Duke of Marlborough,* iii. 357.

in Hamburg '.[1] Marlborough would have been the last to detract from his own share in the success at Alt Ranstadt by praising the part played by Robinson; his rather grudging tributes therefore carry the more weight.

The ' pensions ' [2] promised by Robinson to Piper, Hermeline and Cederhielm helped to oil the wheels of the discussions, though Piper was also accepting money from France. Robinson strongly believed in granting money and favours and was even prepared to advance the money himself and rely on having it repaid by the government. This he did in the case of young Akerhielm. The latter was the son of a former Swedish secretary of state and brother-in-law to Cederhielm and Hermeline, the two secretaries under Count Piper. In the time of William III Robinson had been instructed to offer Akerhielm's father a sum of £1,200, but he had refused it for himself, suggesting that the money be applied to send his son to study at Oxford. Robinson thereupon used the money to settle some of his arrears, and the government agreed to allow the son £150 a year for three years. But on 2 March 1706 Robinson informed Harley that Akerhielm ' who is now in the third and last year of that Allowance, is still maintain'd at my charge '.[3] Robinson did eventually succeed in recovering the money, but only after repeated requests and many assurances to the effect that Akerhielm's influence might some day carry considerable weight at the Swedish court, and that Britain could ill afford to offend Cederhielm and Hermeline.

In November 1708 Marlborough advised the Earl of Sunderland to suspend payment of the pensions:

> I observe what you write of my Lord Treasurer's ordering the money for the Swedish ministers, and am of opinion we need not be over-hasty in that matter, but stay a little to see what turn those affairs will take. Whenever it is paid it ought certainly to be remitted to Mr. Robinson, who paid the former sums. I am persuaded those gentlemen would be uneasy should it pass through other hands.[4]

That this sordid view of the integrity of the Swedish ministers was justified is proved by the fact that information about the discussions between Marlborough and Charles XII was

[1] *Letters and Despatches of the Duke of Marlborough*, iii. 359.

[2] Robinson wrote to Harley 19 April 1707 (P.R.O., S.P.F. 88/17): ' I have acquainted Count Piper, Mr. Hermeline, and Cederhielm that Her Majesty will give yearly pensions to the first £1500 and to each of the other £500 '.

[3] P.R.O., S.P.F. 88/17.

[4] *Letters and Despatches of the Duke of Marlborough*, iv. 286–7.

supplied by Besenwald to the French government. Besenwald's account was extremely accurate, and must have been obtained from someone who had been present at the interview. Coxe [1] thought Hermeline the most likely informer.

As for Swedish relations with the Empire, the Alt Ranstadt discussions achieved nothing definite, and much depended on Robinson's further efforts. Writing on 18 May Robinson said, 'the differences between the Imperial and Swedish Court still subsist, not without danger of ill consequences'.[2] Harley wrote urgent notes to Robinson telling him to do all in his power to prevent war, adding, 'it is not possible at this distance to descend to particulars of what you should say, and your own great prudence makes it needless'.[3] Count Zinzendorf, the Imperial minister, told Robinson that he did not see 'how the blow could be warded, unless it were by Her Majesty's interposition'.[4] Robinson therefore once more acted quickly without awaiting instructions. He called on Piper and told him the disastrous effect a war between Sweden and the Empire would have upon the Allied cause. Piper reported the interview to Charles XII and hinted to Robinson that it had 'very great influence upon the King, and if a misfortune be avoided on this occasion it will be much owing to those considerations'.[5]

Wratislaw, the Emperor's special envoy, arrived in Leipzig early in July, and Robinson and the Dutch minister immediately put themselves at his service. He on his part seemed anxious for their assistance, to the point of leaving them to conduct most of the negotiations with Piper. In August, Wratislaw asked the Allied ministers to declare publicly that a Swedish attack on the Empire would be regarded as an attack on Britain and Holland: 'We have by no means presum'd to make that declaration', wrote Robinson, 'but instead of it have us'd all our endeavours to keep the Negotiation on foot, and lessen the differences between them'.[6] Robinson had another audience with the Swedish king at this time and once again pressed him to come to terms with the Empire.

As in the case of the Polish-Swedish treaty, Charles XII was anxious for an Allied guarantee of any agreement made with the Empire, and Robinson again rendered great service

[1] In his *Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough*.
[2] P.R.O., S.P.F. 88/17.
[3] P.R.O., S.P.F. Entry Book 104/154. 30 May 1707.
[4] P.R.O., S.P.F. 88/17. Robinson to Harley. 17 May 1707.
[5] P.R.O., S.P.F. 88/17. Robinson to Harley. 11 June 1707.
[6] P.R.O., S.P.F. 88/17. Robinson to Harley. 13 Aug. 1707.

to the Allied cause by having the courage to promise a provisional guarantee. This promise did much to hasten the final settlement; Lediard even went so far as to assert that it was 'the Guaranty of Great Britain and Holland' which 'at Length removed all Difficulties'. An agreement was accordingly signed in September. Even Harley mentioned Robinson as having taken great 'pains' in the affair: 'the good success that you have had in this affair, and the credit you are in with the King of Sweden, as also your being master of his language, would make it desirable if you could go along with him'.[1] Charles had left for the East, and with him had gone Robinson's secretary, Jefferies, who had been allowed to join the army as a volunteer, 'whereby H.M. may be truly informed of what passes'.[2] Charles XII had allowed this as a particular mark of respect for the Queen.

Relations between Sweden and the Allies were certainly much more cordial at the end of 1707, and Robinson must be allowed most of the credit for this satisfactory state of affairs. Quite apart from such brilliant strokes as his timely use of the *sub spe rati* device, his very persistence must have had its effect on both the Swedish king and his ministers. He was an envoy whom they had known over a long period and for whose judgement they had profound respect. He understood the niceties of the Swedish position and was able to talk to the Swedes in their own language; at times he must have seemed almost one of them. Bain described him as *persona gratissima* to Charles XII. Furthermore, Robinson's sincere regard for Sweden, and his wish to see her affairs prosper, were known and appreciated. The age of trained diplomats with specialized knowledge of the country to which they were accredited had not yet dawned, but Robinson came very close to being an expert, in the modern sense, in Swedish affairs.

He remained in Saxony until the end of September 1707 and then set out for Hamburg, where he had been instructed to interpose the Queen's 'offices as Guarantee of the Treaty of Travendahl, towards composeing the differences between the King of Denmark and Duke of Holstein-Gottorp'.[3] The situation in Hamburg was similar to the one he had faced previously in Dantzig, and his experience there in dealing

[1] P.R.O., S.P.F. Entry Book 104/154. Harley to Robinson. 2 Sept. 1707.

[2] Marlborough to Harley. 10 May 1707. *Letters and Despatches of the Duke of Marlborough*, iii. 357.

[3] P.R.O., S.P.F. 82/24. Robinson to Boyle. 4 March 1708.

with the townspeople and their magistrates was to serve him in good stead in Hamburg, where sporadic outbreaks of violence threatened more serious disaster. Consequently, he had to deal not only with disputes between Denmark and Holstein-Gottorp as instructed, but as self-appointed mediator he was responsible for keeping the peace in the city and thereby preventing an attack by the Circle troops sent to restore order. In fact, judging by his despatches, the situation in Hamburg itself took up more of his time than the formal political talks. Robinson often thought his own life to be in danger. Writing to Raby, the English minister in Berlin, on 11 May 1708,[1] he gave an account of ' the very bad state we are in ', adding that there was ' no hope of anything but what must be extream, save that the Mob seems not ill affected to us Britains. But when they come to be in their rage, none is sure to be spar'd. The consideration of the Queen's Subjects engages me to stay here and will be a motive to do so as long as possible '. The next sentence is strangely reminiscent of the twentieth century. ' I am remov'd into Mr Wick's neighbourhood and hope to be out of the way of Bombs.' By May, the Circle troops were outside the city and Robinson mediated directly between Count Gildensterna, their commander, and the city magistrates, and it is of considerable interest to note that Robinson's use of the *sub spe rati* device once more provided the means to a settlement. The magistrates agreed to admit a limited number of Circle troops into the city on the understanding that England would guarantee their departure in due course. Robinson on his own authority ' sent for Deputys . . . and told them that in case nothing but Her Majtys Guaranty could content the burghers, the Senate might give them hopes of our promise of it " sub spe rati " '.[2] The success of Robinson's bold moves was their own justification, and the home government gave him support.

In spite of the pressure under which he was working, he found time to send Secretary Boyle valuable information about military affairs, and to deal with commercial matters. He urged the government to insist on the total prohibition of the export of corn from Holstein to France, and to take steps to prevent Sweden trading with France. Early in May 1709 he informed Boyle that he had written to Stockholm ' to the end the Traders of Sueden may at present forbear carrying of corn to France '.[3] At the same time he urged Raby to

[1] B.M., Add. MSS. 22,198.
[2] P.R.O., S.P.F. 82/24. Robinson to Boyle. 25 May 1708.
[3] P.R.O., S.P.F. 82/24.

use his influence in Berlin: 'we are labouring to persuade Sueden and Denmark to forbear carrying of Corn to France. It would doubtless be acceptable if your Court would give orders that no Corn be carried thither from Königsberg (where I hear there is plenty of it)'.[1] There was a serious shortage of corn in France in 1709, and a British Order in Council declared corn to be contraband.

In the summer of that year he was recalled from the city, much to his disappointment. The dispute between Denmark and Holstein-Gottorp had subsided, and, largely owing to Robinson's mediation, order had been peaceably restored to Hamburg. But northern affairs, wherein his real interest lay, were taking a new turn. News was being received of Swedish defeats, and there were rumours of a closer understanding between Russia and Denmark. The Swedish ministers, seeing in Robinson a true friend of their country, argued the need for his presence in England to explain matters at first hand to the government. Robinson was doubtless flattered by the esteem in which he was held by the Swedes, for he wrote to Raby on 3 July 1709:

> I have the satisfaction that some of the Suedes who have not on all late occasions us'd me very well, do now think me worth the keeping among them; and as I am verily persuaded, that if they accept of any Mediation, they will desire that of Her Majty; so I have reason to think they would be content with me for the instrument. But I hope they will in such case fall into better hands; tho I must confess, they can fall into none, that can have a more hearty concern for the real (not imaginery) good of Sueden.[2]

He left for England in August 1709, and the following summer he was officially superseded as envoy to the Court of Charles XII by his former secretary at the Embassy, Robert Jackson.

Robinson remained in England until January 1712, and promotions both eccesiastical and lay followed in rapid succession. In November 1710 he was made Bishop of Bristol, and in August the following year Lord Privy Seal, thereby having the distinction of being the last ecclesiastic to hold high secular office. The honour was bestowed to prepare the way for his appointment as senior plenipotentiary at the Utrecht negotiations. It was his last diplomatic appointment; he returned to England in August 1713, and was rewarded for his part in the peace settlement with the see of London. He died in

[1] B.M., Add. MSS. 22,198. 1 May 1709.
[2] B.M., Add. MSS. 22,198.

THE NAVAL DEFENCE OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICA
1739–1763

By G. S. Graham, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S.

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Until the eighteenth century, British naval operations rarely strayed outside the strictly European theatre. Engagements in North American waters were isolated enterprises, having little connection with the decisive area of battle which lay off the west coast of Europe in the vicinity of the British Isles. This concentration of forces in home waters was determined as much by structural, technical and hygienic deficiencies as by strategic doctrine. Disease and gales were always the worst enemies, and in the manner of continental armies, the ships of the Royal Navy sought winter quarters in or after November. By the end of the seventeenth century, however, improvements in naval architecture and the technique of navigation, as well as methods of preserving food and protecting health (slight as they may appear to this age), enabled ships to keep at sea for longer periods, and at greater distances from their home ports.[1]

These improvements added enormously to the importance of overseas bases, which had hitherto played an insignificant part in the field of imperial defence. Apart from technical and navigational handicaps there had been little demand to fortify and protect distant colonial ports. Since operations outside the European theatre were rare, no European government was anxious to undertake the expense of building fortifications and lavish harbour works or placing permanent squadrons in the western hemisphere. Even during the height of her power, Spain's colonial empire had no adequate military defences, and the fortifications at Havana and Vera Cruz were little more than pretence.[2] Similarly, British ports in Newfoundland or on the North American coastline remained

[1] A ship-of-the-line in the eighteenth century possessed a certain degree of self-sufficiency, since it was sometimes possible to stay at sea for as long as five months. At the same time long trips from home quickly exhausted consumable stores, while ' three hours of battle or thirty of tempest ' made resort to a dockyard imperative. See G. Callender, *The Naval Side of British History*, (1924), p. 134.

[2] See F. P. Renaut D'Outre-Seille, ' L'Evolution du problème des bases navales ', *La Revue Maritime*, cxlvi (1932), p. 172.

lamentably undergunned, undermanned and inadequately equipped. Only when overseas territories increased in number and value, and when under the influence of the mercantilist philosophy of the time they became in a sense merged with the economy of the possessor nation, did colonial ports and the focal sea areas in their neighbourhood acquire substantial strategic importance. Indeed, Louisburg was not established as a French base of operations until after 1713, and Halifax not until 1749.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century it had become the custom to leave convoy escorts on temporary *station* duty. For example, a Privy Council order of 25 March 1706 instructed Sir William Whetstone at Jamaica to detach two ships to protect the coasts of Newfoundland until the end of the fishing season, 'when they shall form part of the convoy for the fishing fleet on its way home'.[1] On 20 February 1707 the Privy Council acceded to the Board of Trade's request that

> after the Arrivall of the Convoy One of the Ships of Warr might remain dureing the Winter Season in the Rivers of Virginia, another in Maryland, and the rest in case they arrive soon enough to Wood and Water and fit themselves for a Cruise before the Setting in of the Frost, may be ordered to Cruise off of Barbados and the Leeward Islands, or elsewhere within the Tropics, in such manner as his Royall Highness the Lord High Admirall Should Direct for the better Security of the Trade of those Southern parts . . .[2]

Until 1743 there was only one squadron, that of Jamaica, the most valuable British colony in the west; the other colonies, including the Leeward Islands, Barbados, the Atlantic coast settlements and Newfoundland, retained *stationed* vessels, consisting usually of one 50-gun ship, two or three light frigates and several sloops.[3] With the exception of Nova Scotia, the continental colonies usually contributed their own sloops and

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series* (ed. W. L. Grant and James Munro), ii. 504.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 514–15.

[3] See Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond, *The Navy in the War of 1739–48*, iii. App. B. 268; and Richard Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 277–82. Before the outbreak of war with France in 1743, the Leeward Islands, like Barbados, had only *stationed* ships, but the growing importance of the general area as a potential theatre of operations led in that year to the formation of a Leeward Islands' squadron, based on Antigua. In 1812 the Jamaica and Leeward Islands' squadrons along with the Halifax squadron were placed under a single commander-in-chief. Yearly dispositions of the stationed squadrons in North American waters are contained in *Admiralty In-Letters*, Public Record Office, London (subsequently referred to as *Ad. 1*). Transcripts of these documents are to be found in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

schooners. The distribution for 1742 shows North Carolina with one sloop; South Carolina, two 20-gun ships and one sloop; Virginia, one 44-gun ship and two sloops; New York, one 44-gun ship; New England, one 44-gun ship; and Newfoundland, one 50-gun ship. In 1745 these scattered continental forces were placed under the commander-in-chief of the newly established North American squadron based originally on Louisburg and subsequently, for the greater part of the Seven Years War, at Halifax.[1]

Up to the time of the American Revolution no large-scale actions took place in northern waters; hence these *stationed* ships were rarely called upon to combine, except in the event of an anticipated sortie from overseas. There is no instance, for example, of a Newfoundland ship being called away for joint operations, and there is more than one instance of local commanders refusing to risk their ships to go to the aid of other stations. Obviously, isolated *stationed* forces were too weak to face powerful raiding squadrons such as Admiral D'Anville brought across the ocean in 1746, and, indeed, they were never intended to fight decisive engagements—that is, major battles involving command of neighbouring waters. When a superior force appeared it was proper to return to port, if opportunity offered, and wait until the danger had passed.

Provided the Royal Navy retained command of the English Channel, the ultimate possession of such colonies as Nova Scotia or Newfoundland was never in doubt, 'for that place [Newfoundland] will always belong to him that is superior at sea'.[2] Nova Scotia was open by land to the French on the St. Lawrence, and her coastline was nearly half as long as that between Florida and Maine; but she was almost an island, and a precarious situation could be relieved at any time by hurrying ships from the Mother Country. As for the mainland colonies, they were already too strong in numbers and too deep in area to offer themselves as simple military conquests.

Seasonal weather conditions also played a large part in determining the operational use of British forces. In the

[1] On 1 January 1744/5 Rear-Admiral Peter Warren was appointed Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels Employed or to be Employed in North America to the Northward of Carolina. His successor, Vice-Admiral Townsend, held a similar command, but during the Seven Years War Commodore Richard Spry's territory also embraced the Bahama Islands (see *Ad. 1*, vol. 480).

[2] *Report of Committee of the Privy Council on Newfoundland, 1675* (in *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series*, i. 622; see also 'Memorandum of Captain Phillip Patton to Sir Charles Middleton, 1794', contained in *Letters and Papers of Charles Middleton, Lord Barham*, ed. Sir John Knox Laughton (Navy Records Society, xxxviii, 1911), ii. 398.

West Indies, summer heat, hurricanes and disease made life almost impossible for ships and men ; and in northern waters fighting was rarely practicable until warm weather opened the ports and rivers to normal traffic. Halifax provided the northernmost ice-free port, and strategically it was a vital base for the blockade of Canada. This ' most excellent harbour ', wrote Wolfe in 1758, was not only happily situated for the protection of the British fisheries and the interruption of the enemy's, but ' for the annoyance of their navigation up the River St. Lawrence '.[1]

However, not till after the Seven Years War did Halifax receive any marked attention from the Admiralty. Only then was the commander-in-chief of the North American station, Commodore Colville, able to complete an efficient careening yard, and add to the establishment skilled labour in the shape of carpenters, caulkers, sailmakers and riggers.[2] Under his stimulus the King's Yard at Halifax became not only a first-rate repair base where masts could be fixed or renewed, bottoms cleaned and ships fitted and sheathed, but an important stores depot for the whole North American continent. Hitherto, major refitting operations had had to be carried out in Atlantic ports like New York or Boston or in the West Indies at Jamaica.

During winter Halifax was never used as a base for campaigning. Although Commodore Colville, who spent three winters there, found that ' in general this season is not so boisterous, as 'tis commonly thought ', with less winds and more sunshine than England supplied, nevertheless he never put to sea until April. ' 'Tis the Frost that makes the coasting Navigation so difficult, and almost impracticable to Ships. The running Ropes freeze in the Blocks ; the Sails are stiff like Sheets of Tin ; and the men cannot expose their Hands long enough to the Cold, to do their Duty aloft ; so that Topsails are not easily handled. However, Sloops and Schooners where the Men stand on the Deck and do all their work, succeed well enough and we have always been very well supplied with frozen Beef from Boston which keeps our Seamen healthy while they continue in Port ; but the Scurvy never fails to pull us down in great Numbers, upon our going to Sea in the Spring.' [3]

[1] Wolfe to Lord George Germaine, 24 May 1758 : *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Sackville MSS.*, ii. 260.

[2] Lord Colville to Philip Stephens (Secretary of the Admiralty), 27 November 1764 : *Ad. 1*, vol. 482, sec. iii.

[3] Colville to Clevland, Halifax, 10 April 1761 : *Ad. 1*, vol. 482, sec. ii. See also Commodore Chas. Douglas to Philip Stephens, 28 December 1783 : *Ad. 1*, vol. 491.

Halifax was important as a winter base, simply because it allowed squadrons to reach the mouth of the St. Lawrence in early spring before the French supply ships could get there from Brest.[1] The ice, which in April began to drift from the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Gut of Canso, piled itself up in compact masses on the southern coast of Cape Breton, but rarely impeded navigation further west.[2]

Because of the hazards of navigation during the winter months, the custom had been established before the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession of sending a number of *stationed* ships from the north to operate in West Indian waters. Commodore, later Rear-Admiral, Peter Warren, in an important memorandum of March 1741, wrote as follows:

> As the severity of the winter from the Middle of Nov.er to ye latter End of March is a Sufficient Protection to ye Collonies to ye Northward of Virginia tis Propos'd, that the Ships Station'd at New York & New England & one of those at Virginia shou'd about ye Middle of Nov. proceed to Barbadoes or Antegua with Such of ye Trade as Shou'd be bound from their Respective Stations to ye West Indies, from whence they Shou'd proceed to the Spanish Coast—touching at Curacoe for Intelligence, Pylotes & Water, and then Cruize on that Coast till the beginning of Feb.ry taking always care to be the Windward of Carthagena where they may wood and Water without Interruption. . . . The beginning of Feb.ry they Should Stretch over ye Coast of Hispaniola fetching as far to Windward as possible & run down ye South side of that Island & Cuba. . . . They Shou'd Continue on ye Station till ye Twenty'th of March, & wou'd Probably Intercept Spanish Privateers who fit out at the Havanna about that time—in order to Cruize on our Trade to the Northward. The Twentyth of March they should go thro ye Gulf of Florida.[3]

This custom of systematic interchange was theoretically sound. Unfortunately, however, it could only be successfully managed by means of elaborate reliefs, which the Admiralty was never in a position to sustain. No ship could cruise throughout the year without cleaning and refitting, or without

[1] See Vice-Admiral Boscawen to Commodore Spry, Halifax, 19 October 1755: *Ad. 1*, vol. 481; and Spry to Clevland, 16 February 1756 and 18 April 1756: *Ad. 1*, vol. 480.

[2] *Ibid.*; see also Admiral Gambier to Philip Stephens, February 1771, *Ad. 1*, 483, sec. ii.

[3] 'Proposals for the better Employing His Majesty's Ships Station'd on the Coast of North America, 19 March 1741'; P.R.O., Captains' Letters, *Ad. 1*, vol. 2653.

damaging the morale of men who were prone to desert in the best of peace-time conditions.[1] The alternative system of 'laying up' for the winter also had its grave drawbacks. In Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, frost, water and mildew played havoc with sails and stores. 'The laying up of the King's Ships along side a wharf', wrote Hood from Halifax, 'renders them . . . useless in every respect' and the situation is worsened 'by the great Desertion [of crews] that never fails to happen'.[2] 'She was much out of repair by Wintering at Newfoundland' was a remark that more than one admiral might have passed on harbouring conditions in St. John's.[3] Chiefly because of bad docking facilities and the practice of leaving the ships loosely 'housed-over' with canvas or wood, the wastage among *stationed* ships in northern waters was severe.[4] The barnacles and worms of the Caribbean were, on the whole, infinitely preferable to the ravages of wind, snow and ice. As a consequence, most of the Halifax *stationed* ships either returned to England with convoys, or went to the West Indies, except for the winter of 1757–8, when as many as nine ships were left in harbour to be ready for the early blockade of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.[5]

The fishing and trading interests, in London and the West Country as well as in North America, were rarely satisfied with the amount of protection afforded. All through the eighteenth century there was a constant chorus of complaints, which usually concluded with the demand for three or four ships-of-the-line on all-year duty at each vital port. In view of the chronic shortage of frigates and the awful rapidity with which sailing ships were used up through exposure and navigational dangers, the astonishing thing is not the paucity of *stationed* ships, but the fact that the Admiralty was willing to surrender for overseas service as many vessels as it did. None the less, under the pressure of well-organized lobbying, the government was always subject to the temptation to

[1] '. . . we are always decreasing', wrote Commodore Spry from Halifax, 'and no Possibility of procuring any [men] here unless the station'd Ships bring us some in the Spring' (to John Clevland, Secretary of the Admiralty, 22 November 1755: *Ad. 1*, vol. 480).

[2] Hood to Philip Stephens, 20 December 1767: *Ad. 1*, vol. 483, sec. i.

[3] Same to same, 30 November 1767; *ibid.*

[4] See 'State and condition of Ships and Vessels under command of Richard Spry Esq., Captain of *Fougueux* in Halifax Harbour', 8 December 1755: *Ad. 1*, vol. 480.

[5] Admiral Sir Charles Hardy to Clevland, Halifax, 22 March 1758: *Ad. 1*, vol. 481; Boscawen to Clevland, Halifax, 10 May 1758: *ibid.*; and Commodore Spry to Clevland, 28 October 1762: *Ad. 1*, vol. 480. For a good many years the Halifax squadron consisted of six vessels including one ship-of-the-line.

sacrifice concentration in home waters in the interests of colonial trade. Powerful commercial groups in London were constantly at work to influence the Cabinet's direction of naval strategy, while governors and assemblies, with a naturally parochial attitude towards ships which were *stationed* to defend their possessions, inevitably tended to think of them as fixed defences.

At the end of the seventeenth century the danger of local control at the expense of a unified command had been only too real. In 1697 the Council of Trade and Plantations had issued instructions in the name of the King, that 'the Commanders of his ships that are sent for the service and defence of any Colony [are] to be under the direction of the Governor of each of those Colonies during their continuance there. Also, when the commanders have occasion for seamen they must apply to the Governor, to whom the sole power of impressing seamen is entrusted. . . .' [1] Had this method of local direction been allowed to develop, it might have had a most serious effect on naval strategy in North American waters. Even though the final authority of the commander-in-chief might have been retained on paper, in actual practice the ships would have been under the thumbs of the local governors and legislatures, and their removal elsewhere would have been fraught with endless delays and frustrations. Fortunately, by the end of Anne's reign, apart from small craft raised and maintained locally, the Admiralty had confirmed its control of all the King's ships doing *station* duty.

The clamours and persistent interference of trading interests did, however, occasionally force dispersions which weakened the main striking force in European waters.[2] In the summer of 1745 the Jamaica and the Leeward Islands' force was temporarily outnumbered by the French at Martinique and the Spanish at Havana. Fearful of jeopardizing so profitable a colonial fief, the British government reduced the Mediterranean squadron to provide reinforcements for these West Indian stations, although the Channel fleet had already been

[1] To Governor Fletcher, February, 1697: *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1696–97* (London, 1904), p. 343. As a consequence of merchant agitation, a House of Commons committee of inquiry was responsible for the introduction of a new Convoys and Cruisers bill, which was fortunately rejected in the spring of 1742 by the House of Lords. Had it passed it would have tied the *stationed* ships closely to local defence and made liberty of action dependent on governors' consent. See Richmond, *op. cit.*, iii. 270–1; Pares, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

[2] See *Select Naval Documents*, ed. H. W. Hodges and E. A. Hughes (Cambridge, 1922), p. 139.

stripped of every spare ship to serve the same purpose.[1] As a consequence, the Royal Navy had to loosen its blockade of the French coasts.

But incidents of this description are rare, and the northern colonies, because their trade was less valuable, offer no examples of similar dangerous dispersals. There was always, of course, the possibility that Newfoundland or Nova Scotia might succumb to amphibious invaders, as did the Hudson Bay forts in the days of Queen Anne. The loss of such North American outposts would have been a serious blow, but not a fatal one. Indeed, assuming that Cape Breton might be lost in 1746, the Admiralty was prepared to recapture it in the following year. This they could do because they controlled the Atlantic communications to the Island, a command of the sea which was maintained by conserving the strength of the navy in the decisive theatre of action, namely, at the enemy's main points of departure in Europe.

But the temptation of the government to expend ships on colonial trade protection was constant. As the London and colonial merchants clamoured for *stationed* ships, so did they raise their voices in loud demands for more frequent and stronger convoys. The numerical inferiority of the French navy encouraged the Ministry of Marine to split their harbour-bound squadrons, and pursue a strategy of *guerre de course*, and in the North American-West Indies shipping lanes as well as that between Halifax and Newfoundland a fruitful harvest awaited their roving cruisers. Statistics of trade losses in the eighteenth century are notoriously unreliable, but as early as 1741 the growing list of captures made it clear that more protection was needed.

Convoy operation in a vaguely modern form goes back to the early sixteenth century, when Spain provided armed vessels to escort the treasure Flotas from the Indies or the Basque fishing fleets to and from Newfoundland. Following the famous pronouncements of the Navigation Act of 1651,

[1] Pares, *op. cit.*, p. 284. It has been argued that British squadrons in the Mediterranean offered examples of *dispersed* imperial power, viz. local squadrons whose primary aim was the defence of the road to India. See H. J. Mackinder, *Britain and the British Seas* (New York, 1902), p. 349. There was, however, one significant distinction between Mediterranean detachments and those in the West Indies and on the Atlantic coast. In maintaining in later days British ships based on Malta and Gibraltar, British governments never succumbed to the fallacy that dispersal was the best means of defending trade. Small British units did defend the trade route to India, but the main object was collectively to guard the Channel from the bottleneck at Gibraltar, thus containing within the Mediterranean concentrations of French ships which otherwise might have been assembled in northern waters.

the business was gradually though loosely systematized by legislation. Acts were passed usually at the beginning of every war requesting all ships to make their overseas journeys in convoy and there were clauses penalizing captains and sometimes merchant skippers for delays or neglect of orders.[1] The organization was never placed on a thoroughly effective basis until 1809 ; [2] and one chronic difficulty lay in the half-hearted co-operation of the merchants. For reasons of national security, the Admiralty preferred to conserve its forces by increasing the size of the convoy and limiting the frequency of sailings. The merchants, on the contrary, demanded more frequent sailings, and complained of the expensive delays which, say, a mere three annual convoys to and from Newfoundland forced on them. Ordinarily, the returning Newfoundland convoys did not leave St. John's until September, and the temptation to reach the early Mediterranean markets was sometimes too much for independent masters, who risked ships and crews by sailing alone in August, or by breaking convoy en route.[3]

But even improved discipline and organization could not combat fog and storm. During the recent war, it was difficult enough to keep a convoy together if the elements were opposed ; in the age of sail it was a far more hazardous business ; for a North American convoy of some 80 to 100 ships to cross the Atlantic intact was unique. Moreover, heavier concentrations of shipping offered increasing opportunities to an enemy, often prepared by advance intelligence, to launch a large-scale attack. Against whole squadrons—in our own day we called them ' wolf-packs '—the escort frigates or fifty-gun ships could offer no adequate resistance.

[1] See ' An Act for Constituting Commissioners for Ordering and Managing the Affairs of the Admiralty and Navy ' (31 May 1659) contained in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660*, ed. C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (1911), ii. 1282. See also P. H. Colomb, ' Convoys : are they any longer possible ? ' *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, xxxi (1887), p. 300.

[2] See W. W. Pole, Secretary of the Admiralty, to Messrs. Inglis, Ellice & Co., Admiralty Office, 2 March 1809; P.R.O., *B.T.I.*, vol. 45; also in this connection, C. E. Fayle, ' Economic Pressure in the War of 1739–48 ', *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, lxviii (1923), p. 435.

[3] This problem, which presented itself during every war, is well illustrated by ' convoy orders ' of 1 August 1689, directed to masters of Newfoundland fishing vessels who left in advance of the convoy or departed from it during the voyage in order to forestall competitors in the markets of south-west Europe. They were told that ' no seaman of such a vessell, if taken by the Turks, shall be released by virtue of a public treaty or exchanged for Turkish prisoners, and that frigates other than the convoy be not charged with any care of such single ships as may come into their company ' (*Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series*, ed. W. L. Grant and James Munro, ii. 139).

Nevertheless, the convoy system in conjunction with *stationed* ship patrols proved a fairly effective and economical method of protecting colonial trade. Like the Dutch in a previous century, the French frequently used ships-of-the-line as escorts, but except in the Channel approaches, the Admiralty rarely assigned large ships to these tasks. There was good military as well as political reason to justify the expenditure of light frigates and fifty-gun ships on convoy duty, but any extravagant policy of trade defence would have invited dangerous sacrifices in home waters. As with *stationed* ships, any wide 'mincing' of the fleet into convoys would have left the Mother Country vulnerable, and defeat in the European theatre could mean the invasion of Britain as well as the cutting of all overseas communications.

Command of the sea, therefore (which was in effect command of the Channel), was the key to Britain's defence and to the safety of the empire. Fixed colonial defences in the form of *stationed* ships or squadrons buttressed certain vital points in the chain of communications, but the primary defence of the overseas colony had to be the main fleet. To suggest, as has been suggested by various people from the eighteenth century to the present day, that fixed defences could in any way be a substitute for command of the sea is to misread the lessons of history. Only very rarely during the struggle for possession of North America were the colonies within the theatre of active sea warfare. France could only conquer British America by winning command of the Channel. As wise French admirals realized by 1759, it was only by taking London that their colonial empire could be assured. 'If the struggle for England is lost, all is lost.' [1]

It had been for long an axiom of British policy that the Royal Navy should command the English Channel and its entrances, that the hostile coasts of the western European promontory should be regarded strategically as the 'British frontier'. In other words, the seas about those coasts were to be considered as British territory which the enemy must be prevented at all costs from controlling or invading. This command could be achieved in two ways, either by destroying the main enemy naval forces, or if that was impossible by reason of the enemy's reluctance to risk decisive battle, by so disposing the fleet as to make it impossible for him to leave harbour without being brought to action by a superior British force. From this latter alternative derived the practice of

[1] G. Lacour-Gayet, *La Marine militaire de la France sous le règne de Louis XV*, 2nd ed. (1910), p. 381.

blockade which demanded a constant predominance in western European waters. It followed obviously that dispersal to distant points was wrong if that predominance was in any way weakened.

This principle of 'blockade' has been misinterpreted by some critics, who have argued that it favoured passive defence at the cost of the offensive spirit; that it involved 'all the privileges of command of the sea without running the risks inseparable from battle'.[1] Such academic reasoning ignores the real facts. Blockade is not essentially defensive warfare. Nelson pointed out its real purpose to the Lord Mayor of London, when acknowledging a vote of thanks passed by the Corporation in appreciation of his successful effort in the blockade of Toulon. 'I beg to inform your Lordship, that the port of Toulon has never been blockaded by me: quite the reverse—every opportunity has been offered to the enemy to put to sea, for it is there that we hope to realize the hopes and expectations of our country, and I trust that they will not be disappointed.'[2]

Sometimes when British superiority was unchallenged, orders were given for a strict blockade, but British fleets were seldom strong enough to maintain a prolonged 'offensive' operation of this sort. Ordinarily blockade amounted to a 'close watch', as Nelson explained to the Lord Mayor. To make that action effective, a fleet more efficient or numerically stronger than the enemy had to be maintained on watch. With the exception of the War of American Independence, when sheer weakness was responsible for faulty execution, all the wars subsequent to that of the Spanish Succession were conducted in the light of this doctrine. 'Whatever the number of ships needed to watch those in an enemy's port,' said Mahan, 'they are fewer by far than those that will be required to protect the scattered interests imperilled by the enemy's escape.'[3]

It is understandable, however, in view of the awful strains imposed on the blockader, that the first desire of the Admiralty was to end such nerve-racking vigils by bringing the enemy to decisive engagement. Unfortunately for eager British captains, French naval strategy after La Hogue (1692) became

[1] An acute analysis of this issue is contained in Herbert Rosinski, 'Command of the Sea', *Brassey's Naval Annual* (1939), p. 89.

[2] Although 'blockade' has become the common term, used by Mahan, Colomb and other naval historians to describe the kind of task undertaken by Nelson, it is not strictly correct. Technically, blockade means the prevention of ingress or egress, or in the words of an Admiralty declaration of 1756 'a detention of the enemy's strength in their ports'.

[3] *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* (1895), p. 1061.

increasingly defensive in general purpose, and more and more tied to the policy of a ' fleet in being '. Inferiority in numbers bred an obstinate scepticism of the effectiveness of sea battle, and encouraged the husbanding of existing resources. Indeed, the more one studies French naval history, the more does it become clear that the French problem was almost as much psychological as material. The reasons for the failure of France at sea are multiple, and most of them can be estimated ; but one determining factor lies in the region of imponderables —the growth of the *defensive* spirit. In the course of many indecisive engagements, the French counted themselves victorious if they saved their ships, much in the manner of the Germans after Jutland. Seamen like Suffren occasionally rebelled, but ordinarily policy and poverty dictated caution in the presence of numerically superior forces, and elevated prudence as a virtue above audacity. By the middle of the eighteenth century the art of sparing ships in battle had become firmly welded into French strategic doctrine.

Had the French sought to decide the issue of ' command of the sea ' in the Channel, the overseas theatres would never have attained even the secondary importance they did, and ships-of-the-line on *station* duty would have been an anomaly. But since the French evaded major decisions by battle whenever possible, France was forced to maintain her colonial life-line in time of war by means of convoys and emergency expeditions of succour ; and these depended for success upon eluding an enemy that held command of the sea.

In one sense, blockade was bound to place Britain on the defensive tactically. When Mahan remarked that France, despite her maritime weakness, possessed certain advantages of the offensive, he was thinking in terms of ' breaking ' the blockade.[1] Whereas a French squadron or fleet might escape, let us say, to North America, it was not always expedient to give chase for fear the detachment of a British force might so weaken the Home Fleet as to endanger the security of the Channel. Hence, if a substantial division of the French fleet managed to get away, it could hold the initiative in overseas theatres until tracked down by a superior British force. Moreover, since the French navy was usually redistributed at the beginning of every campaign, the British could never be quite sure whether the various squadrons would be eventually concentrated at Brest, Lorient or Rochefort, and after that, what would be their ultimate destination overseas. If the Royal Navy divided its forces and watched all three, it might

[1] A. T. Mahan, *Types of Naval Officers* (Boston, 1901), p. 180.

fail to deal competently with a strong concentration issuing from one. On the basis of experience the Admiralty had been inclined to put most effort into watching Brest, with the result that groups from Lorient or Rochefort were bound to get away occasionally.[1] Indeed, in the 'forties it became a habit for French squadrons to ' steal out ' of port and elude superior English forces ; and what is impressive is not so much the fact that they got away, but rather the remarkable punctuality with which they effected their ' rendezvous ' before crossing the Atlantic.

During the War of the Austrian Succession, the system of blockade by means of squadrons based on home ports proved to be too spasmodic in application and too ' loose ' in texture to guarantee the immunity of British North American possessions. Even at Brest it had been impossible to prevent the exit of reinforcing expeditions for Canada. How could Anson and his captains with some 78 ships-of-the-line keep a continuous guard over more than 70 in the hands of France and Spain ? True, the enemy allies were split by the Bay of Biscay, and concentration was difficult. On the other hand, even the greatest economy could not provide a blockade force constantly equal to the largest force the French could put to sea from any one port.

To maintain even a small squadron at sea in constant fighting trim demanded a high standard of repair and replacement. The English sailors were ordinarily better seasoned than the French, and despite the awful food and cramped living conditions were usually healthier than the French and better able to withstand long periods at sea. But British ships, because they saw more continuous service, were rarely in as good condition as the French. In the days before copper sheathing, bottoms fouled rapidly, with consequent loss of speed and manœuvrability. Moreover, cruising in all weathers wore out hulls and masts and played havoc with rigging. Under the circumstances, ships had to return to port frequently to be cleaned, repaired and sometimes completely refitted, and many extra ships had to be available in order that a force equal to anything that the enemy could possibly send out could take to sea ready for action. During the winter of 1746–7 Anson brought his ships and crews to the point of exhaustion, and when the time for refitting was at last forced upon him, despite his utmost endeavours, the squadron was not ready for action until late spring.[2]

[1] See Admiral R. Castex, *Théories Stratégiques*, iii. (1931), p. 223.
[2] Richmond, *Navy in the War of 1739–48*, iii. 78.

Now there was no division of opinion in the Admiralty as to the necessity of keeping a permanent watch on enemy ports. The real difference of opinion lay in the manner with which the watch should be conducted—by frigates alone or by frigates closely supported by ships-of-the-line. It could be asserted that since a blockade even with vastly superior forces could not be made air-tight, it was sufficient to have small cruising squadrons on patrol. These could be reinforced in the event of any large-scale French movements, and, unhampered by transports, could take up the pursuit; with any luck they would reach the threatened area overseas before drastic damage had been done. Furthermore—and apart from strategical considerations—any decision to weaken overseas stations in order to devote a large proportion of ships-of-the-line and frigates to the wear and tear of ceaseless blockade in all weathers was bound to encounter heavy political opposition.

For these reasons, the system of a strong permanent guard over the chief enemy ports was never actually put into practice. Instead of expending large ships on close blockade, Anson and Hawke, recognizing the fundamental importance of containing the enemy within the Channel or the Mediterranean, planned a continuous distant blockade based on systematic reliefs from British ports. To their common sense and imagination, Britain owes the establishment of a strong 'Western Squadron', whose task was to screen the entrance to the Channel, without, however, diminishing the security of other vital areas. The new idea was publicly explained in 1756, and the writer was probably Anson: 'Our colonies are so numerous and so extensive that to keep a naval force at each equal to the united force of France would be impracticable with double our Navy. The best defence therefore for our Colonies as well as our coasts is to have such a squadron always to the Westward as may in all probability either keep the French in port or give them battle with advantage if they come out.' [1]

While some naval historians put the origin of this particular force as far back as 1739,[2] the 'Western' squadron of that date was not strong enough either in numbers or

[1] Quoted in Richmond, *National Policy and Naval Strength*, p. 346.

[2] It is possible to find a precedent as early as 1673, when Charles II stationed cruisers to protect the trade passing through the Channel, and in the latter days of William III and during Anne's reign it was customary to earmark ships to cruise as a Western or Soundings squadron in defence of trade. See Arthur Bryant, *Samuel Pepys*, ii. 103, and John Owen, *War at Sea under Queen Anne, 1702–1708* (Cambridge, 1938), pp. 68–9.

replacements to perform the task which strategists like Anson demanded of it. During the War of the Austrian Succession, it rarely consisted of more than ten ships-of-the-line, and even when strengthened in moments of emergency was never in a position to deal with any concentration of enemy forces. French convoys still sailed to the West Indies and often returned unmolested; D'Anville took two expeditions across the Atlantic without being intercepted.

In the manner of Admiral Sir John Fisher in the early years of the twentieth century, Anson fought successfully for a concentration that should be able to deal expeditiously with the strongest enemy force in the decisive theatre, whether fleet, squadron or convoy. Under his administration, an effective 'Western Squadron' grew yearly, and the wisdom of his policy revealed itself in the last two years of the Seven Years War, when the French convoys to Canada almost disappeared from the seas.

Now, obviously the strength required always depended on the dispositions and strength of the enemy, and movements were similarly related to measures taken by the enemy. As a rule, however, the most profitable disposition for the ships of the Western Squadron was off the south-west coast of England. From there Brest and Rochefort could be watched by frigates attached to a powerful force that would be in constant readiness to check and if possible destroy any expedition directed towards North America. The squadron could, moreover, make periodic cruises in the Bay of Biscay from Ushant to Finisterre, intercepting coastal convoys of merchant ships and transports and at the same time protecting the mass of British and Dutch shipping passing through the focal area of the English Channel.[1]

As a consequence the French navy found itself tied more and more to the defence of harbours and coastal convoys, thus exposing the French North American colonies to invasion at convenience. Preoccupied with the protection of their land frontiers, cramped at sea by the doctrine of passive defence and crippled by the tightening British cordon in the Channel, France was in no position to maintain her lines of communication. The result for Britain was an almost unchallenged command of the sea and an opportunity to carry out combined operations across the ocean, where the American

[1] See *The Byng Papers*, ed. B. Tunstall (Navy Records Society, 1930–3), pp. ii, xviii. On occasion, as in 1759, when the Mediterranean made no drastic calls on British strength, the main fleet became for all intents and purposes the Western Squadron.

colonists were as eager to end French rule as were the disciples of William Pitt.

Thus, a survey of the period under review shows that blockade or 'close watch' became the principal function of the Royal Navy. Command of the sea achieved by the complete destruction of the enemy's main forces was, by comparison, a happy accident. The battle of Quiberon Bay in November 1759 provided a decisive victory that sealed Wolfe's triumph at Quebec, but no one could count in advance on such a decision. For the greater part of the Seven Years War, the Admiralty had to be satisfied with starving the French empire by blocking access to the North Atlantic and this, to a great extent, they succeeded in accomplishing. In the long run, it was a 'containing' strategy, based on the isolation of four French ports, which insured for Great Britain the conquest of Canada. Through long and hard experience, the Admiralty had evolved a system which combined reasonably adequate defence of colonial waters with an effective concentration of battle ships in the vital strategic zone of the Western approaches.

THE ENGLISH EXILES IN HOLLAND DURING THE REIGNS OF CHARLES II AND JAMES II

By James Walker, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S.

Read 8 November 1947

The United Provinces in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the refuge of the oppressed of Western Europe. From the days of the Marian persecutions, considerable numbers of English exiles were to be found jostling one another in the busy street of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, wandering penniless along the quiet avenues of The Hague or seeking freedom in the more desolate expanses of Zealand. Reasons for the popularity of Holland as an asylum are not far to seek. In an age when religious heterodoxy was a political crime, the freedom of worship permitted in Holland was eagerly taken advantage of. The refugees went to live among a people who encouraged such immigration as a means of increasing the material prosperity of their country. English pamphleteers attributed the flourishing condition of Holland to this policy. 'Liberty of Conscience', wrote Sir Charles Wolseley, 'would be a more serious blow to Holland than all the victories yet gained.' [1] Another writer drew attention to the part played by the refugees from the tyranny of Mary and Laud, in building up the prosperity of Amsterdam.[2]

Seymour,[3] Penn,[4] Temple,[5] and Petyt [6] warned the nation that the penal laws increased Dutch trade and diminished that of England. Roger Coke, among his reasons for the rapid development of Dutch commerce, mentions the considerable communities of English in Holland, and tells us that in 1637 no less than 140 families emigrated to Holland where they developed a woollen industry.[7] No wonder Skelton in 1686 advised that the refugees be pardoned as a means of preventing the establishment of a cloth industry which would be an

[1] *Liberty of Conscience the Magistrates Interest* (1668), p. 9.
[2] *A Letter from Holland touching Liberty of Conscience* (1688).
[3] A. Grey (ed.), *Debates of the House of Commons, 1667–94*, i. 114.
[4] *England's Present Interest Discovered* (1675); *Persuasive to Moderation*, quoted by T. Clarkson, *Memoirs of William Penn* (ed. W. E. Forster, 1849), p. 169.
[5] *Works* (1757), ii. 134.
[6] *Britannia Languens* (1680), pp. 104–7.
[7] *A Discourse of Trade* (1670), ii. 53.

economic blow to England, a source of profit to the Dutch and a safe refuge for fugitives.[1]

Foreign immigrants not only enjoyed the boon of religious liberty but also freedom to engage in any occupation they pleased.[2] In addition Holland offered to the homeless geographical, political, financial and social advantages that were hard to match elsewhere. It was easy of access, its government was enlightened, its magistrates had no power to confiscate property or to deprive the people of their liberty without just cause. The Bank of Amsterdam afforded unrivalled advantages to those who, like Algernon Sidney's friend,[3] desirous of preparing for a stormy future, wished to remove part of their wealth from the reach of the home government.

The number of Englishmen who lived in Holland after the Restoration was considerable. Flourishing groups of natural-born English merchants were to be found in most Dutch cities. Some of them were intelligencers in the pay of the secretaries of state, others did all they could to alienate Dutch sympathy from the Stuarts. The sons of English merchants were sometimes sent to Holland to complete their commercial education.[4] At world-famous seats of learning like Leyden and Utrecht were trained many of that generation of clergy who carried on into the next century the learning, piety and ideals of the founders of nonconformity.[5] They write from Leyden, Arlington was told in 1670, that accommodation is seriously overtaxed owing to the influx of nonconformist students from Great Britain.[6]

Englishmen in Holland had the advantage of worshipping under clergymen who had been trained at Oxford and Cambridge and driven into exile by the operation of the Clarendon Code. In the reign of James II the minister in the English Church at Utrecht was Mr. Best, a Dutchman, who could speak only broken English. But Calamy occasionally could listen to the sermons of John Nisbet, a young refugee deeply implicated in the Rye House Plot, or to those of Mr. Cameron who afterwards held the living of Kirkcudbright.[7] A few

[1] State Papers Foreign, Holland, 220, pp. 16–17.

[2] *True Interest and Political Maxims of the Republic of Holland* (1702), pp. 17, 58–66. Published in 1662, it was written by Pierre Delacourt. John De Witt had a hand in its composition (A. L. Pontalis, *Jean de Witt*, i. 314 ff.).

[3] T. Forster, *Original Letters of Locke* (1830), pp. 92–3.

[4] R. Thoresby, *Diary*, i. 16 ff.

[5] Cf. E. Calamy, *Historical Account of My Own Life* (ed. J. T. Rutt, 1829), i. 139, 142, etc.

[6] S.P. For., Flanders, 39, p. 77.

[7] Calamy, *op. cit.*, i. 144–5. W. Kennet, *A Register and Chronicle, 1660–62* (1728), p. 900, gives a list of English clergy in Holland. See also E. Calamy, *The Nonconformist's Memorial*, passim; W. Steven, *History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam* (1833), passim.

of the exiled clergy played a part in political intrigues, but most of them, like the students, travellers and merchants who found their way to Holland, carefully avoided intercourse with the political exiles.

The safety of these latter varied according to the relations of the home government with that foreign government to which they looked for protection. Charles II was frequently promised help in securing his offending subjects. The dominions of Louis XIV as a rule were not a safe abiding-place. In 1683 the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands offered every facility for the arrest of the Rye House plotters.[1] In Spain, Lord Lansdowne obtained an extradition order, though with some difficulty, against the captain and crew of the vessel in which Monmouth sailed to England.[2]

The Dutch were much less accommodating when Downing requested the surrender of the three regicides, Barkstead, Corbet, and Okey. The ambassador realized that their extradition would be a matter of difficulty, as it could only be demanded under the terms of an extradition treaty.[3] Arrangements for this purpose had been made with Denmark in February 1661[4] but not with Holland until September 1662, that is six months after the surrender of the three regicides.[5]

The Dutch government was anxious to conciliate Charles II, but was not disposed to violate the law of nations or to act the policeman on Dutch territory at his command. Further, a considerable body of public opinion was sympathetic towards the exiles. Feeling at The Hague was therefore in favour of open compliance, but privately it was well known that the authorities would connive at the escape of the victims. In acting thus the Dutch were following the usual custom in dealing with political refugees.[6] The agents of the king therefore fell back on kidnapping, only to find their

[1] S.P. For., Flanders, 54, pp. 110–18.

[2] S.P. For., Spain, 72, pp. 21, 33; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Downshire MSS.*, i. 187.

[3] E. G. Clarke, *Treatise upon the Law of Extradition* (4th ed.), pp. 20–3. Clause X of the Treaty of Westminster (1654) bound the contracting parties to banish within 28 days any rebel whose presence was objected to. This, of course, was a nullity in 1660 (J. Dumont, *Corps Universal Diplomatique*, vi, pt. ii. 75). Charles II and the Elector of Brandenburg made a similar agreement in July 1661 (*ibid.*, p. 364).

[4] Dumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 399–400.

[5] Dumont, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

[6] 'In modern states . . . offences of a political character have always been excluded from the operation of the laws of extradition' (*Ency. Brit.*, 11th ed., art. '*Extradition*'). Cf. Gilbert Burnet's remarks on the surrender of Wariston by Louis XIV (*History of his own Time*, ed. Airy, i. 355).

plans brought to nought by the magistrates in Amsterdam and Rotterdam.[1]

Downing was determined that the Dutch should not overreach him a second time. He therefore obtained from the States of Holland a general warrant to arrest any regicide found in Holland, and permission from De Witt and Clarendon to kidnap them if facilities to take his captives to London were refused.[2] The sequel was the arrest of Barkstead, Okey and Corbet at Delft, whither they had come with an assurance from Downing that they would not be molested.[3] Public opinion on both sides of the North Sea was hostile. Downing's blank warrant was cancelled. In England the ambassador was thought to be 'a perfidious rogue', even by friends of the government,[4] while the Dutch were told that they had broken the rules of international law and of their own constitution.[5]

The position of the exiles in Holland was materially altered by various articles in the treaty of alliance between England and Holland in 1662.[6] These clauses were included in the Treaty of Breda in 1667[7] and confirmed by Article vii of the Treaty of Westminster.[8] Those who fled for religious reasons were not affected, but a distinction was drawn between regicides and other political exiles. Any regicide found on Dutch teritory was to be sent to England, no formal request for his extradition being necessary. As for other rebels, each of the contracting parties had to banish them within twenty-eight days of a request to that effect. They had to leave within fifteen days of being notified by proclamation upon pain of death and confiscation of all they possessed. Finally the two

[1] Cal. S.P. Dom., 1660/61, pp. 450, 454; Cornbury to Downing 21 June, 19 July, 1661 (Add. MSS. 22919, fos. 151, 158). In Amsterdam the Schout was forbidden to assist the English consul (Cal. S.P. Dom., 1660/61, p. 420). In Rotterdam the authorities assisted the regicide Dendy to escape from Downing's clutches in August 1661 (*ibid.*, 1661/2, p. 404; T. H. Lister, *Life and Administration of Clarendon*, iii. 151–2, 155, 169; Bampfield to (Bennet) 11/12 Dec., 1663, in S.P. For., Holland, 168, pp. 186–7).

[2] Lister, iii. 151–2, 155, 168–9; Pontalis, i. 281–2; A. de Wicquefort, *Histoire des Provinces-Unies*, iii. 77; Downing to Nicholas, 21 March 1662 (Egerton MS. 2538, fo. 45).

[3] *The Speeches, Discourses and Prayers of Col. John Barkstead, etc.* (1662); Pontalis, i. 282–4; J. Beresford, *The Godfather of Downing Street, Sir George Downing* (*1623–84*), pp. 142–50; Downing to Nicholas, 7/21 March 1662 (Eg. MS. 2538, fos. 38, 45).

[4] S. Pepys, *Diary* (ed. H. B. Wheatley), ii. 190, 193.

[5] *A Memorial . . . to the High and Mighty Lords the States of Holland by the Foreign Anabaptist Churches* (1662).

[6] Dumont, vi, pt. ii. 422–6.

[7] *Ibid.*, vii, pt. i. 44–8; *Letters and Negotiations of The Count D'Estrades* (1711), iii. 321–4, 335–6.

[8] *Ibid.*, vii, pt. i. 254.

powers agreed that any of their subjects assisting rebels to evade the provisions of the treaty, should become liable to similar punishment.

Although both governments had agreed that none of Charles II's rebel subjects were to live in Holland, it remained the refuge of most of them. A wordy battle raged until the eve of the Revolution over the meaning of these clauses, their literal interpretation being vigorously resisted by the Dutch as an unjustifiable diminution of their rights as a sovereign power. A considerable latitude was afforded them by the peculiar nature of their constitution. The central authority could only act through the provincial and city officials, orders for whose employment had to be given by local magistrates.[1] But the latter were anxious to promote the prosperity of their city and believed that this could best be done by affording protection to the foreigners who dwelt amongst them. Joined to this consideration was the considerable sympathy of the Louvestein faction with the opponents of Charles II. If the magistrates dared not publicly resist the fulfilment of treaty obligations, they did privately connive at the escape of the refugees.

An example of the passive resistance of the Dutch is afforded by Temple's attempt in July 1670, to arrest Cornet Joyce. As Joyce was not a regicide, it was necessary to obtain permission for his repatriation from the States of Holland, and the concurrence of the magistrates of Rotterdam, where Joyce had lived with his family since 1660. As the former did not assemble until September 1670, Temple, on De Witt's advice, applied to the Committee de Raedt, the council of state of the province of Holland, for a letter recommending the Rotterdam magistrates to comply with the request of the king of England. This was easily obtained. But in Rotterdam the magistrates protested that it would be a violation of their privileges to surrender a man charged with no specific crime. They said that Joyce had lived for a long time among them and was only guilty of words, ' of which they were very free in their country ', and that such a precedent would damage trade. Finally they closed a tedious debate by offering to surrender Joyce on condition that he should be immediately released if no crime were brought home to him. The warrant, however, was not issued until darkness had set in, under cover of which Joyce slipped out of his house by the back door. The only satisfaction left to the ambassador was to vent his wrath in a letter to Arlington, in which he speaks of persons

[1] Sir William Temple, *Works*, i. 115.

who, knowing nothing of the Dutch constitution, had set him an impossible task.[1]

The two governments never agreed as to the meaning of the sixteenth clause of the Treaty of Breda, which provided for the expulsion of fugitives. To the claim of the English government that a declaration on its part obliged the States to act, the Dutch opposed the argument that they had the right to investigate the offences of the victims. To admit that a request of the King, unsupported by proof of guilt, was sufficient to justify expulsion, would have, as Van Citters told James II, serious consequences. The ministers in London would be able, at pleasure, to compel the United Provinces to expel any person they chose to name.[2]

The matter was disputed at length in 1676 when Temple asked for the expulsion of Colonel Wallace, Robert MacWard and John Brown, three Scotsmen living in Rotterdam.[3] Every device known to the procrastinator was used by the Dutch, who evaded the strong pressure of the English government for more than six months. During the course of this diplomatic conflict no less than three separate demands for their banishment were sent by Williamson to The Hague.[4]

As Temple was absent at Nimeguen, the negotiations at first were in the hands of Roger Meredith, the secretary of the embassy. He was told by Fagel that Wallace, MacWard and Brown were exiled nonconformists, not political refugees. Acting on Brown's suggestion he concluded by asking for particulars of their crimes. As he was unable to supply this information at the moment, owing to the absence of Lauderdale from London, Williamson ordered Meredith to keep Charles II's letter back. Temple, however, precipitated its presentation to the States General by writing to Fagel in peremptory fashion on 15 July, that the Dutch were obliged to comply with the demand and not to speculate on its justice.[5] The

[1] Sir William Temple, *Works*, ii. 138–50; T. P. Courtenay, *Life, Works and Correspondence of Temple* (1836), i. 375–7; Pontalis, ii. 35; E. Ludlow, *Memoirs* (ed. J. B. Firth) ii. 424–5; T. Bebington, *The Right Honourable the Earl of Arlington's Letters to Sir William Temple* (1701), i. 450–1.

[2] Mackintosh Coll., Add. MSS. 34510, fos. 96–7.

[3] Wallace commanded the rebels at the Battle of Pentland Hills (W. Veitch and G. Brysson, *Memoirs*, pp. 352–62). See the *D.N.B.* for MacWard and Brown. Temple failed to secure MacWard's banishment in 1670 (S.P. For., Holland, 202, p. 100; Temple, *Works*, ii. 133, 137; Veitch and Brysson, p. 363; State Correspondence between England and the Netherlands (Add. MSS. 17677 cc, p. 223).

[4] 27 June, 18 Nov, 29 Dec. 1676. State Correspondence between England and the Netherlands (Add. MSS. 17677 cc, pp. 223, 316, 329).

[5] S.P. For., Holland, 202, pp. 21, 39, 53, 62; For. Entry Book 66, pp. 194–5, 200, 201; Veitch and Brysson, pp. 363–4.

States General on 21 July refused to comply, instructing Van Beuningen, their ambassador in London, to point out that MacWard and Brown were banished persons and not fugitives. The ambassador delivered his message but refused to commit it to writing until authorised to do so. The matter dragged on until November, Van Beuningen repeatedly promising a written answer and continually evading giving effect to his promise.[1]

Assured by Lauderdale that the three Scotsmen had not been banished, Williamson sent a second demand to the States General on 18 November.[2] Fagel pleaded illness, while Charles ordered Temple not to stir from The Hague until he had received a reply and even threatened to stop commercial intercourse between Scotland and Rotterdam.[3] A third demand was sent from London on 29 December.[4] Finally, after two debates in the States General, the deputies gave way in order to avoid an open rupture.[5] Brown and MacWard, however, never even left Holland. Brown, who was in ill-health, was allowed to remain. MacWard went to Utrecht and was one of the six Scots whose banishment Jenkins wished Henry Sidney to obtain in 1680. Wallace alone left Holland but even he returned to die in Rotterdam in 1678.[6]

As the Dutch had only obliged themselves to surrender regicides, others whose extradition was desired could only be brought to England with their permission. But a public request only had the effect of placing the victims on their guard, as Downing pointed out in the case of Dr. Richardson.[7] The outcry which had followed the arrest of the regicides in 1662 made it impossible for the Dutch to issue 'dormant orders', even if they had desired to do so. In these circumstances English ambassadors were prepared to abuse Dutch hospitality by kidnapping traitors. In no case were they successful, but it was not through lack of zeal that Downing

[1] S.P. For., Holland, 202, pp. 72, 100, 102–3, 146; For. Entry Book 66, pp. 202, 203, 213–14 (the letter on p. 202 of 8 Aug. 1676 is misdated 28 Aug.) R. Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* (1721–2), i. 434–5.

[2] For. Entry Book 66, pp. 202, 224–5; Add. MSS. 17677 cc, p. 316.

[3] S.P. For., Holland, 203, pp. 130, 149, 172, 211; For. Entry Book 66, p. 233.

[4] Add. MSS. 17677 cc, p. 329.

[5] S.P. For., Holland, 203, pp. 32–3, 45–8, 293; Temple, *Works*, iv. 289–90, 301–2, 315, 321–2, 333–4; Veitch and Brysson, pp. 364–70.

[6] M. Shields, *Faithful Contendings Displayed*, p. 218; Veitch and Brysson, pp. 370–1, 376, 515–16; S.P. For., Entry Book 68, 24 Aug. 1680; W. Steven, *Hist. of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam*, pp. 36–7.

[7] S.P. For., Holland, 169, p. 129. Richardson was one of the leaders in the Yorkshire Plot of 1663; see my article on the Yorkshire Plot in the *Yorkshire Arch. Journal*, xxxi. 352–3.

failed to repeat his successful coup of 1662, for two years later he outlined to Arlington a plan to waylay Dr. Richardson, the Secretary of State agreeing to advance £50 to cover the expenses.[1]

In 1686, on the eve of his departure to Paris, Skelton authorized Captain Slater and other English officers in the Dutch army, to attack Sir Robert Peyton in the street of Rotterdam. Only the intervention of the mob frustrated Slater's bravoes.[2] Peyton's conduct was certainly calculated to annoy a less officious person than Skelton, but the ambassador had little excuse for the outrage, if Peyton's story, that he had accepted £100 from him on pretence of soliciting a royal pardon, is true.[3] The king was obliged to disown the rash action of his subordinates, most of whom were cashiered and only with difficulty given permission to return home.[4] Skelton protested vigorously, only to be told that he must expect to be disowned when he defied the laws of the country to which he was accredited.[5] He suffered the further annoyance of losing £200, as the king left him to collect his expenses from Slater, whose reward was a captain's commission, and his pay, one shilling a day.[6]

The resentment shown by the Dutch was the more keen as Peyton was a naturalized citizen of Amsterdam. Dutch citizenship was frequently assumed by the exiles.[7] Of those who took this precaution Sir Thomas Armstrong, the associate of Monmouth, was the only one to be surrendered.[8] The rights of the English king over such naturalized citizens became a matter of controversy during the reign of James II. On four occasions [9] he claimed that the Dutch were obliged to banish Dr. Burnet. D'Albeville told the States General that the terms of the treaties did not permit the Dutch authorities to

[1] S.P. For., Holland, 168, p. 85; 169, pp. 51, 54, 57, 81, 129; Cal. S.P. Dom. 1663/4, pp. 512–13. He was not molested, however, as his confidence was gained by an intelligencer to whom he made a confession (*ibid.*, 521, S.P. For., Holland, 170, p. 96).

[2] G. J. W. A. L. Dover, *The Ellis Correspondence*, i. 176–7; Moreau Letter Book (Add. MSS. 38493, p. 31); S.P. For., France, 150, p. 173.

[3] S.P. Dom., Jas. II, iii, pt. i. 57; S.P. For., France, 150, p. 178.

[4] Mackintosh Coll. xxii (Add. MSS. 34508, pp. 51, 137–9); Add. MSS. 17677 hh, pp. 49, 63–4; Moreau Letter Book (Add. MSS. 38493, pp. 88–9, 103–4).

[5] S.P. For., France, 150, p. 178; 151, p. 1; For. Entry Book 19, 10 Jan. 1686/7.

[6] S.P. For., France, 151, pp. 46, 53; For. Entry Book 19, 7 April 1687.

[7] Shaftesbury and Locke, for example, became burghers of Amsterdam (cf. Le Clerc, *Life and Character of John Locke*, p. 10; J. Ferguson, *Robert Ferguson the Plotter*, p. 92).

[8] *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 45–6; Rapin, ii. 733–4.

[9] 6 Aug., 27 Dec. 1687; 13 Jan., 24 Feb. 1688.

pass judgment on the merits of the dispute between James II and his exiled subjects neither did they lose their force if the persons in question had not been declared rebels before leaving England, nor even if they had become naturalized subjects of the United Provinces.[1] In other words, it was claimed that Burnet, since he had been born a subject of the English crown, had no right to withdraw himself from his native allegiance.

An opposite interpretation of the treaties was made at The Hague. Men are born free, Van Citters argued, and are at liberty to place themselves under the protection of any government they please. As Burnet had become a Dutch citizen he could therefore only be arraigned in a Dutch court. It was for the Dutch authorities to say whether he was a rebel or not, and in virtue of his citizenship Burnet was entitled to their protection.[2] James II had a just cause for grievance, however, as Burnet was not naturalized until after he had offended, and in circumstances which showed that it was permitted by the burghers of Amsterdam in order to strengthen their hands against James II's claims.[3] When James recalled the English regiments in the spring of 1688, the duties of naturalized subjects were again disputed, but the Dutch in effect won their case as they retained the services of the soldiers.[4] In Burnet's case, however, they thought it prudent to give way, the future prelate being requested to absent himself from the precincts of William's court.[5]

It is not too much to say that it was the Dutch and not the English interpretation of the treaties that prevailed. Further the Dutch did violate their treaty obligations. There was a good deal of truth in Skelton's complaint that they were liberal in promises but deficient in action. The Dutch constitution was only too well adapted for rendering nugatory resolutions of the States General. On the application of Skelton, for example, that body on 5 May 1685 agreed to banish those of the exiles who were preparing to sail with Monmouth and Argyll, but the dilatory action of the Amsterdam authorities made the resolutions useless.[6]

Effective steps to drive the exiles out of Holland were not

[1] Mackintosh Coll. xxiv (Add. MSS. 34510, pp. 70–1, 81, 89, 98); Add. MSS. 17677 hh, pp. 148–9; Moreau Letter Book (Add. MSS. 38494, p. 12).
[2] Add. MSS. 34510, pp. 81, 96–7; *ibid.* 38494, pp. 25–8.
[3] Comte J. A. d'Avaux, *Negotiations* (1754–5), iv. 127–9.
[4] *London Gazette*, No. 2336.
[5] Add. MSS. 38494, pp. 47, 51; d'Avaux, iv. 115.
[6] S.P. For., Holland, 220, pp. 18–19; Add. MSS. 17677 gg, pp. 264–5, 287–8; *ibid.*, 34512, pp. 3, 17, 22; Lord Grey, *Secret History*, pp. 107–9, 120–1; *Histoire des Evenements Tragiques d'Angleterre* (1686), pp. 216–27.

taken until after Monmouth's rebellion, and then only when Skelton had publicly demanded it and under the fear that further hesitation would force James into an alliance with France as the only means of protecting himself against the menace of a rebel colony on the other side of the North Sea.[1] Yet in September 1686, five months after he had presented his Memorial, Skelton is found complaining that ten republicans were still living in Amsterdam.[2] The Dutch could hardly refuse warrants for the more deeply involved of the rebels. They could protect Burnet, but Rye House plotters and the followers of Monmouth could expect no such aid until Orange was gathering his forces to invade England.

By promising timely warning to refugees who had been located by the agents of the King, the Dutch rendered them a real service. Dr. Richardson, for example, was promised facilities to escape if Charles II asked for his extradition.[3] An English spy, William Carr, received the same answer in 1683 from the magistrates at Utrecht, when, posing as a fugitive, he asked for protection.[4] Ferguson and his companions would have been arrested in Amsterdam after Monmouth's failure, if the Schout had not tarried in the execution of the warrant.[5] About the same time Skelton bitterly complained that he had been frequently baffled by local officials after he had put the most notorious of the fugitives into their hands.[6] But as the Dutch at this time judged it impolitic openly to protect the exiles, some of them sought safety elsewhere. Lord Grey went to Cleves,[7] Sir William Waller provided a refuge for many at Bremen,[8] Sir Duncan Campbell for a time was in Poland,[9] and two of Monmouth's followers went to Hungary,[10] but few of the exiles seemed to have travelled further east than Germany. The son of Lord Melville found employment at the court of Brandenburg,[11] but others were less fortunate. In the cities scattered along the banks of the Rhine, a traveller at this time would have found many subjects of James II whose pseudonyms covered noble names. In Wesel alone during August 1686 John Erskine

[1] Add. MSS. 34508, pp. 117, 126–7; *ibid.*, 34512, pp. 28, 41–4; S.P. For., Holland, 220, pp. 16–17, 18–19; Add. MSS. 17677 gg, p. 581.
[2] *Ibid.* 34508, pp. 50, 131.
[3] Cal. S.P. Dom., 1663/4, p. 465.
[4] S.P. For., German States, 86, p. 172.
[5] Add. MSS. 34508, p. 127.
[6] S.P. For., France, 150, p. 178.
[7] S.P. For., German States, 86, pp. 172 ff.; Grey, *Secret History*, pp. 68 ff.
[8] H.M.C. Rep. vii, Graham MSS., p. 386.
[9] Erskine, *Journal*, 176.
[10] S.P. For., Flanders, 55, p. 41.
[11] Ranke, iv. 409.

dined daily with twelve Scots whose presence there was not unconnected with troubles at home.[1]

The dangers to which they were exposed restricted the freedom of those who remained in Holland. Ferguson the Plotter was obliged to take the precautions he had found necessary in London.[2] For three months John Locke, suspected unjustly of having contributed to Monmouth's war chest, dared not leave his lodgings in Amsterdam save under cover of darkness.[3] At no time was the peril greater than in the weeks preceding Argyle's and Monmouth's rebellions. Sir Thomas and James Stewart were forced to live like vagrants, travelling only by night on the barges which plied along the canals.[4] After the collapse of the risings a tolerable degree of security was only to be found in Amsterdam. Rotterdam, where the fugitives could be taken, was shunned by them like the plague.[5] To sum up, Holland was not a safe retreat for regicides after 1662. Prominent republicans lived there with the fear of extradition hanging over their heads. Only when political relations between England and Holland were strained, or when under assumed names they remained undetected, was it possible for them to find any degree of safety.

The means by which the exiles paid for the necessities of life must always remain something of a mystery. Sir Patience Ward, Bethel, Papillon, and Dubois, all of them rich merchants, lived at least unhaunted by the spectre of want. Lord Grey speaks of himself as lacking the means to live in comfort, but the information of Everest proves that he received a considerable sum from relatives in England through the banker Hayes.[6] Those who lacked private means lived in abject poverty. Dunton ate abundantly after his return, 'for after so long a vacuum' his 'stomach . . . was still crying, give, give'.[7] Hansard Knollys had to sell his goods to pay his passage home.[8] Ferguson's letters show how acutely he felt his inability to provide for his family, and his joy when Shaftesbury's legacy enabled him to supply his wife's immediate wants.[9] Many landed on the Continent with no other worldly

[1] J. Erskine, *Journal*, p. 204 and *passim*.
[2] F. A. Middlebush, *Despatches of Thomas Plott, 1681–82, and Thomas Chudleigh, 1682–85, English Envoys at the Hague*, pp. 243, 247.
[3] Le Clerc, pp. 13–14.
[4] *Coltness Collections*, p. 85.
[5] S.P. For., Holland, 218, p. 216; Erskine, *Journal*, pp. 163–71.
[6] Grey, *Secret Hist.*, pp. 79–80; S.P. Dom., Car. II, p. 436, no. 54; S.P. For., German States, 86, p. 174.
[7] J. Dunton, *Life and Errors*, i. 151.
[8] *Life and Death of Knollys*, pp. 35–8.
[9] *Ferguson, op. cit.*, pp. 104–5.

possessions than their pockets contained.[1] Men of rank often fared as badly as those lower in the social ladder. Sir Patrick Hume was forced to pawn his plate, and his wife had to do the work of a Dutch housekeeper.[2] Remittances from relatives alleviated the lot of some of the exiles. Even Ferguson drew supplies at times from his wife.[3] The generosity of his tenants rescued Baillie from the pangs of destitution.[4] Argyll's tenants raised £50 for his support, but as a rule he was dependent upon the generosity of friends like the Smiths and Veitch, who were never repaid, and on the income from his small estate in Friesland.[5]

There are indications at the beginning of Charles II's reign that a fund, administered by John Knowles, a Wapping Anabaptist, existed for the support of those overseas. At least, £1,000 was said to have passed through Knowles' hands. The reports of the spies seemed to be confirmed by a letter addressed to him, referring to the collection of money for ' the Polonian fugitives '. ' I do make it a question ', a government official writes in the margin, ' whether or no these Polonian fugitives are not . . . the English rebels in Holland and the Low Countries.' [6]

But such supplies must have been sent very irregularly. Burnet, who was in Holland in 1664, speaks of ' the intolerable peevishness and ill nature ' of the exiles, a condition of mind that suggests a lack of worldly wealth.[7] During the latter part of the period contributions were certainly not solicited for those abroad. The rebellions of 1685 were financed by the exiles,[8] Wildman giving Henry Ireton some useful advice on the folly of assisting people whose indiscretions had got them into trouble.[9]

A few of the refugees maintained themselves by practising their trade. Those who introduced weaving into Leeuwarden and Lunenburg received a warm welcome from their Dutch neighbours.[10] John Howe earned his living by providing lodgings for travellers and by preaching in the English Church

[1] *Memoirs of George Baillie*, p. 22.
[2] Lady Murray's *Narrative* printed in G. Rose, *Observations*, App. i, pp. ix–xii.
[3] Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 104–5.
[4] *Memoirs of Baillie*, pp. 21–2.
[5] Veitch and Brysson, pp. 151–4; J. Willcock, *A Scots Earl*, pp. 321–33.
[6] Cal. S. P. Dom., 1661/2, pp. 97–8; S.P. Dom., Car. II, 93, no. 88; 98, no. 96; 101, no. 102. Knowles was arrested in 1664 and not released until April 1667 (Add. MSS. 37820, fo. 140).
[7] H. C. Foxcroft, *Supplement*, p. 90.
[8] ' Wade's Confession ', Harl. MS. 6845, fos. 266–72.
[9] Lansdowne MS. 1152 A, fo. 280.
[10] S.P. For., Holland, 220, p. 14; H.M.C., Downshire MSS., i. 188.

at Utrecht.[1] But apart from military employment most of the exiles followed no occupation. Lawyers, country gentlemen and politicians were not likely to find congenial employment in Holland. Many returned home as thoroughly disillusioned as Erskine's friend, David Russell, who discovered that work was scarce and food dear in Rotterdam.[2]

To the kindness of their countrymen who had made their homes in Holland some of the exiles owed much. Andrew Russell, a merchant banker in Rotterdam, helped the Stewarts and Hume out of their pecuniary straits.[3] The Quaker merchant and bibliophile, Benjamin Furley, befriended Sidney, Locke and Dr. Richardson.[4] But the first resort of those flying from persecution were the British churches in the Netherlands. Here they were sure to meet others in a like condition, by whom they would be introduced to the coffee houses frequented by exiles and perhaps enrolled in some such secret society as that formed by the Scots in Rotterdam.[5] The numerous Scottish merchants in the same city were generous contributors to the needs of the exiled presbyterian ministers. Poor members of the Scottish Church were maintained by means of a voluntary levy on all Scottish ships using the port, and on occasions a grant was obtained for their benefit from the City Treasury.[6]

In Amsterdam during this period there were a number of English merchants whose politics justified James II's remark that they were all republicans.[7] In 1681 William Carr, spy, adventurer and for the nonce English consul in Amsterdam, drew Secretary of State Conway's attention to these men, all of whom belonged to that Brownist church which had sheltered the puritans who had fled from Laud's tyranny. Among the members were the sons of Major-Generals Harrison and Haynes, the sons of the regicides, Phelps and Blagrave, known as Robert Archer and John Smith, Henry Cromwell's son Oliver, Abraham Keck, Shaftesbury's host, and Israel Hayes, the son of a London alderman.[8] The last named, a banker, held the money of those who prepared for a sojourn abroad, corre-

[1] H. Rogers, *Life and Character of Howe*, pp. 335–56.
[2] Erskine, *Journal*, p. 80.
[3] *Coltness Coll.*, pp. 81–4.
[4] Le Clerc, p. 14; C. Bastide, *John Locke*, p. 84; H. R. Fox Bourne, *Life of Locke*, ii. 58–9; Cal. S.P. Dom., 1666/7, pp. 118, 125; S.P. For., Holland, 186, p. 77.
[5] *Coltness Coll.*, p. 84. An English republican colony was said to exist in Rotterdam in 1682 (*True Prot. Mercury*, no. 22; *Loyal Prot. and True Dom. Intell.*, no. 212).
[6] Steven, *Hist. of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam*, pp. 33–5.
[7] Add. MSS. 34512, p. 22.
[8] *Ibid.* 37981, fos. 1–4.

sponded with the Whigs, and sheltered Sir William Waller in 1680 and Ferguson after the Rye House Plot.[1] The activity of this Brownist colony in stirring up anti-Stuart feeling led to a complaint by the English consul in 1681.[2] Engaged in this work were two members of the church, Widow Browning and Stephen Smart, booksellers and printers. In their shops the latest whig libels could be purchased or read on the premises. Smart was prepared to print anything for profit, whether this involved infringing the copyright of Royston the king's printer or producing nonconformist literature for sale in Great Britain.[3]

The use made of the Dutch presses went far to neutralize the control exercised at home. After Twyn's execution [4] the English in Holland financed an edition of *Mene Tekel*, Downing being forced to look on helpless owing to the strained relations between England and Holland at the time.[5] First-class libels were to be seen in Holland before anyone dared circulate them in England. Algernon Sidney's speech on the scaffold, for example, was first printed in the *Harleem Courant*.[6] The correspondents of the Secretary often forwarded nonconformist tracts and copies of ' verses jeering and abusing the court '.[7] Complaints of smuggling by seamen were often made.[8] The methods adopted at times were ingenious. Pamphlets were hidden in casks of butter, while in 1683 bundles of *Argyle's Case* were shipped as packets of paper and consigned to agents unaware of their contents.[9] A severe blow was dealt this publishing organization in 1676 when Herne, a clerk whom Arlington had dismissed for roguery,[10] exposed the activities of Sir John Rothe [11] and some Englishmen of Amsterdam. Thousands of copies of pamphlets were seized which had been

[1] Add. MSS. 37981, fos. 57–8 ; S.P. For., Holland, 215, p. 234 ; S.P. Dom., Car. II, 433, no. 39.

[2] Add. MSS. 37981, fo. 6.

[3] *Ibid.*, fo. 2 ; S.P. For., Entry Book 68, 31 Aug. 1680 ; S.P. For., Holland, 186, p. 77.

[4] John Twyn, the printer of *Mene Tekel*, was caught red handed by L'Estrange in Oct. 1663 : see my article on the Yorkshire Plot, 1663, in the *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xxxi. 354.

[5] S.P. For., Holland, 174, pp. 50–1, 77.

[6] S.P. Dom., Car. II, no. 50.

[7] Cal. S.P. Dom., 1667/8, p. 282 ; S.P. For., Holland, 182, p. 18 ; Add. MSS. 35852, fos. 94–5 ; Henry Sidney, *Diary*, i. 61.

[8] G. Kitchin, *Sir R. L'Estrange*, p. 162 ; Cal. S.P. Dom., 1671/2, pp. 314–15 ; 1672, pp. 288–9 ; 1673, pp. 74, 106, 134, etc.

[9] *Ibid.*, 1672/3, p. 595 ; S.P. Dom., Car. II, p. 431, nos. 43, 53, 54 ; *State Trials*, ix. 383 ; Middlebush, p. 231.

[10] Add. MSS. 35852, fo. 159.

[11] Rothe, a naturalized Englishman of Utrecht, was knighted in 1660 (*Commons Journals*, viii. 33 ; W. A. Shaw, *Knights of England*, ii. 231).

earmarked for distribution in England before Parliament met. Rothe and his gang, who had offended Orange as well as Charles II, were arrested, and the informer rewarded by the Stadholder.[1]

How the fugitives got to Holland is not easy to discover. In normal times the packet boat from Harwich could be used, but when the ports were being watched other means had to be tried. We are told that the ministers who travelled frequently between Scotland and Holland were not detected, as they signed on as members of the crew.[2] Engaged in coastal traffic at the time were small vessels with narrow pointed sterns known as ' pinks ' whose owners were often willing to cross the North Sea if suitably rewarded. It was on such a vessel that Robert Locke carried Shaftesbury and Lord Grey overseas.[3] It would be interesting if more were known about this subject, as it is possible that some organization existed to assist fugitives out of the country. Certainly Mrs. Gaunt's share in the work goes far to explain Jeffrey's brutality.

[1] S.P. For., Holland, 203, pp. 229, 232.
[2] T. Sprat, *Copies of the Informations*, p. 181.
[3] S.P. Dom., Car. II, 428, p. 47, no. 60.

THE HOUSEHOLD OF THE NORMAN KINGS

By Geoffrey H. White, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

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The great offices of state have their origin in the offices of the royal household of the Norman kings, most of which offices existed in Normandy before the Conquest.[1] The duke of the Normans had his stewards and his butlers, his chamberlains and his constables, when he invaded England; and when he became king of the English his officers accompanied him. For they were still his personal officers, who served him wherever he might be. It was not until his dominions were divided between his sons that occasion arose for the appointment of separate officers for England and Normandy; and after Henry I had recovered Normandy from his brother, he did not maintain separate officers for the duchy.[2] It was not until 1133 that Henry I took the first step towards the division of the chief offices by granting to Aubrey de Vere the office of master chamberlain of England, while the Tancarville family remained hereditary master chamberlains in Normandy.[3]

There can be no doubt that the ducal household before the Conquest was modelled on that of the kings of France[4]; the chief officers of the French court duly appear at later dates in Normandy.[5] However, under the Conqueror and his sons certain differences have already emerged between their principal officers and those of the French king. At Paris there were five great officers: the steward, the butler, the chamberlain, the constable, and the chancellor. The first four of these, who were laymen, attested the royal charters; and the charter

[1] W. Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, 2nd ed., i. 344; C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, pp. 49–51; L. Valin, *Le duc de Normandie et sa cour*, pp. 141–51. For the duke's stewards see also L. W. V. Harcourt, *His Grace the Steward*, pp. 7–8; for his chamberlains, see *The Complete Peerage*, x, Appendix F, and for his marshals, see *ibid.*, xi, Appendix E.

[2] *Cf.* A. Deville, *Château et Sires de Tancarville*, p. 113.

[3] *Complete Peerage*, x, Appendix F, pp. 53–5.

[4] T. Stapleton, *Mag. Rot. Scacc. Norm.*, i, p. xvii; Stubbs, *op. cit.*, i. 344; J. H. Round, *King's Serjeants and Officers of State*, p. 63 (hereinafter referred to as *K.S.*). For England see L. M. Larson, *The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest.*

[5] Harcourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–7; Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 49. In Anjou a steward appears before 1060, chamberlains between 1060 and 1068, a constable in 1085 (L. Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou au XI^e siècle*, pp. 102–4, 192 n. 2, 193 n. 2).

was given by the hand of the chancellor, a clerk.[1] In Normandy from 1030 onwards there seem to have been two or more stewards simultaneously [2]; and after the Conquest the offices of steward and constable were divided among several holders, no one of whom enjoyed pre-eminence over his fellows. On the other hand, the offices of butler and chamberlain were not divided, and the holders thereof became known as the master butler and the master chamberlain, to distinguish them from their subordinates. Royal charters are attested by any magnates, clerical and lay, who may be with the king; and household officers are mixed up among them in no particular order, so that it is impossible to ascertain if they rank in any definite order of precedence.[3]

It is uncertain how the duties of an office were executed when it was divided among several holders. The editors of the *Dialogus de Scaccario* think it probable that the constables served in turn [4]; but when officers of the household served in rotation, the *Constitutio* was careful to note the fact, and it does not do so in respect of either the stewards or the constables. The reason why these two offices were divided among several holders can only be conjectured. It may be suggested that the Norman dukes and kings were afraid that otherwise the holders might become too powerful. At the French court the steward rose to supreme power before the end of the eleventh century, being both chief minister and commander of the royal forces, and early in the twelfth century he had attained so predominant a position as to be a danger to the king.[5] The constable was not nearly so powerful an officer in France at that time; but as he possessed certain military functions,[6] the Norman kings may have thought it safer to divide the office. However, as the royal power became greater such division ceased to be necessary and the arrangement was probably found inconvenient in practice; for before the end of the twelfth century the number of stewards and constables

[1] They first appear together in 1060, but the order in which they attest varies from time to time (A. Luchaire, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques*, i. 167, 170 n. 1).

[2] Harcourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 21, n. 1. The prelates and earls and great barons also had their stewards, butlers, chamberlains, constables and other household officers, who are found on occasion attesting their lords' charters (F. M. Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism*, pp. 69–82; hereinafter referred to as *English Feudalism*).

[4] *Dialogus de Scaccario* (ed. A. Hughes, C. G. Crump and C. Johnson), p. 24 (hereinafter referred to as *Dialogus*).

[5] Luchaire, *op. cit.*, i. 179, and *Manuel des institutions françaises*, p. 521; Harcourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–3; P. Viollet, *Histoire des institutions politiques et administratives de la France*, ii. 109–10.

[6] Luchaire, *Manuel*, p. 526.

in England had been reduced to one of each, although the office of steward was in dispute between the earls of Leicester and the earls of Norfolk.[1]

During the sixty-nine years throughout which the Norman dynasty reigned in England, the household officers even of the highest rank were far from attaining the eminence which they afterwards enjoyed. It is likely, however, that they were gradually rising in importance, although even at the close of the period they had by no means reached the position of great officers of state. The office of chancellor was never bestowed on a bishop; and when a chancellor was rewarded for his services with a bishopric, he promptly resigned office. The first exception to this rule occurred in 1133, when Geoffrey Rufus became bishop of Durham,[2] and was allowed to retain the Great Seal until the end of the reign. Poole suggests that the reason was that Geoffrey was not consecrated until the king had left England for the last time [3]; and Stubbs seems to have thought that a chancellor appointed to a bishopric retained the Great Seal until his consecration [4]; but Farrer is probably right in stating that it was the custom for the bishop-elect to surrender it on his nomination.[5] For when Philip de Harcourt was nominated bishop of Salisbury in 1142,[6] but failed to obtain consecration,[7] he did not remain in office as chancellor [8]; which further shows that King Stephen reverted to the earlier practice.

Similarly the offices of the first rank held by laymen—those of the stewards and the constables, the master butler and the master chamberlain—were never given to an earl, and with one exception no baron who held such offices was advanced to an earldom. The exception occurred at the very beginning of the period, when the Conqueror granted the earldom of Hereford to his cousin and trusted friend William FitzOsbern, who was one of his stewards. Harcourt argued that William FitzOsbern was never steward [9]; but there is charter-evidence that he held the office, and as he issued a charter for St. Denis as 'consul et dapifer Willelmi Anglorum regis',[10] it seems that he did not resign his office when he was created an earl.

[1] *Complete Peerage*, vii. 534; ix. 588, note (f).
[2] After Whitsun (Henry of Huntingdon, Rolls Ser., p. 253).
[3] R. L. Poole, *Exchequer in the Twelfth Century*, p. 185.
[4] Stubbs, *op. cit.*, i. 353.
[5] W. Farrer, *Outline Itinerary of Henry I*, p. 3.
[6] Ordericus Vitalis (ed. A. le Prévost), v. 123; John of Worcester (ed. Weaver in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*), p. 61.
[7] *Annales Monastici*, Rolls Ser., ii. 228.
[8] *Cf.* G. H. White in *N. and Q.*, 12th Ser., x. 126.
[9] Harcourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 13–18.
[10] Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 58, n. 289.

Information about the household during the Norman period is scanty until the very end; but the fullest details of its composition at the death of Henry I are contained in the *Constitutio Domus Regis*, which was drawn up shortly after his death for the information of King Stephen.[1] Here 'domus' is not a building but, as a French scholar wrote of the *palatium regis*, *aula regia* or *domus regia* of the Merovingian and Carolingian monarchs, 'Ce Palais n'est pas une demeure, il est un ensemble d'hommes, un personnel qui entoure le roi, et qui, s'il se déplace, se déplace avec lui.'[2] This establishment of the royal household includes all the members of the household, ranging from officers of the first rank to scullions. It records their daily pay, their allowances of bread and wine, of candles and pieces of candle[3]; although the lowest officials received only their food.

It is uncertain how far the constitution of the household had altered between the Conquest and the death of Henry I. According to Walter Map, Henry I reorganized the household and established fixed liveries for the barons of his court and regular allowances for the members of his household.[4] Haskins considered that these reforms were effected before 1121[5]; but his reason for fixing that date is not convincing.[6] To what extent this reorganization altered the existing arrangements can only be conjectured.

The most important alteration in the household which took place during the Norman period was undoubtedly the separation of the treasury from the chamber. Under William I the king's treasure was still in the hands of the chamberlains, under the charge of the master chamberlain[7]; but at some

[1] Copies of the *Constitutio* are preserved in the Little Black Book of the Exchequer, printed by T. Hearne (2nd edition, 1774), and the Red Book of the Exchequer, edited by H. Hall for the Rolls Series (1896); hereinafter referred to respectively as *B.B.* and *R.B.* For a discussion of the date when, and the place where, the *Constitutio* was drawn up, see White, in *N. and Q.*, cli. 363–4.

[2] N. D. Fustel de Coulanges, *Les transformations de la royauté pendant l'époque carolingienne*, p. 322.

[3] 'Frusta candelarum' (*B.B.*); the *R.B.* always reads 'frustra'.

[4] Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium* (ed. M. R. James in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*), p. 219; *cf.* Will. Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (Rolls Ser.), p. 487; Eadmer (Rolls Ser.), pp. 192–3.

[5] Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 114, n. 142.

[6] That Robert Pecche 'domino regi in cura panum ac potus strenue ministrare solebat', before he was appointed bishop of Chester in that year (Eadmer, pp. 290–1; John of Worcester, pp. 15–16); but Robert may just as well have executed such duties before the reorganization.

[7] Under the Confessor the chamberlains (hraeglthegns) had charge of the royal treasure (F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 635), at least part of which seems still to have been kept in the king's bedchamber (*Lives of Edward the Confessor*, Rolls Ser., p. 207).

uncertain date the care of the treasure passed into the hands of two chamberlains, who became known as the chamberlains of, or at, the treasury, and who under Henry I acquired a new head styled the treasurer. Before the death of Henry I the treasurer had become, if he was not originally, an officer of the first rank, on a level with the master chamberlain and independent of him; and the treasury had ceased to be a department of the household.[1]

Reverting to the *Constitutio*, the rates of pay and allowances in kind recorded therein make it possible to arrange the members of the household in their different ranks.[2] They may be divided broadly into three classes; the highest received clear wine and royal or lords' simnels [3]; less important officers received ordinary or household wine and salt simnels [4]; and lower officials had ordinary loaves,[5] and, with a few exceptions, did not receive wine.[6] It is likely that they received beer, but this is not specified, except in the case of the watchmen.[7] The second class can be subdivided, according to differences in the rate of pay and allowances in kind, into officers of the second, third and fourth rank; and in the third class we may differentiate between officials who were paid wages and those who received their food only.

In classifying these different officers there is one preliminary difficulty. For the majority of the officers of the first, second, third and fourth ranks, alternative rates are given in the *Constitutio*, according to whether they took their meals in the royal household (*intra domum*) or in their own quarters (*extra domum*); but for certain officers only one rate is quoted. It will be found that the latter are usually officers who might be expected to be in constant attendance on the king; so that these single rates can presumably be taken as rates *intra domum*.[8] On this assumption the different ranks may be classified as follows:

I. Officers of the first rank.

(*a*) The chancellor received five shillings a day and one

[1] *Cf.* White, 'Financial Administration under Henry I', in *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.*, 4th Ser., viii. 56–78.

[2] *Cf.* Round, *K.S.*, p. 62.

[3] 'Vinum clarum' and 'simenellus dominicus'. 'It is possible that by "clear" wine, Rhenish or white wine is meant, this being a more expensive vintage; but more probably red wine ("claret"), old in cask, is intended' (H. Hall, *Court Life under the Plantagenets*, p. 243).

[4] 'Vinum expensabile' and 'simenellus sal[atus]'.

[5] 'Panes de pistrino.' See p. 139, n. 7, for the number baked.

[6] See below, p. 134, n. 5.

[7] See below, p. 154.

[8] The exception is William FitzEudes, a constable; see p. 132, n. 8.

lords' simnel and two salt simnels and one sextary of clear wine and one sextary of ordinary wine and one thick wax candle [1] and 40 pieces of candle. As this is the only rate quoted it is presumably an *intra domum* rate ; but there is no doubt that he was always paid 5*s*., whether at court or not. The Pipe Roll of 1130 has the entry : ' In liberatione ejusdem Cancellarii de xliij diebus in quibus non fuit ad Scaccarium cum aliis baronibus Regis x. li. et xv. s.' [2] The editors of the *Dialogus*, quoting this passage, say : ' In one case it appears that the chancellor received 5*s*. a day while he sat at the Exchequer. In this instance he was unable to be present, being on the king's business, but received a compensating allowance.' [3] This is a misunderstanding. The 5*s*. a day was his normal pay as chancellor.

(*b*) The stewards,[4] the master butler,[5] the master chamberlain,[6] the treasurer [7] and the constables [8] received the same pay and allowances in kind *extra domum*, but *intra domum* only three shillings and sixpence and two salt simnels and one sextary of ordinary wine and sufficient candles.

Tout, after quoting the passages relating to the master chamberlain, the stewards and the treasurer, continues : ' The allowances to the Chancellor were higher, and he had five shillings a day wages. This was also possibly paid to the other officers, " si extra domum comederint ", but they certainly had two shillings and sixpence only, " si intra." ' [9] On the contrary, both the Red Book and the Black Book state the *intra domum* rate of the other officers as three shillings and sixpence and leave no doubt that they received five shillings *extra domum* ; and since, whenever alternative rates are quoted, the *intra domum* rate is always more than half the *extra domum* rate, two shillings and sixpence could not be correct for the former. It is clear that these were the only

[1] The *R.B.*, p. 807, omits ' grossum '.

[2] *Pipe Roll*, 31 Hen. I, p. 140.

[3] *Dialogus*, pp. 191–2.

[4] ' Dapiferi sicut Cancellarius si extra domum commederint ' (*R.B.*, p. 808) ; the *B.B.*, p. 342, reads ' Dapifer ', but as this is followed by the verb in the plural, the omission of the final letter is evidently a slip in copying.

[5] ' Magister Pincerna, sicut Dapifer ; et j habent liberationem et eodem modo ' (*R.B.*, p. 810). The *B.B.*, p. 349, reads ' sicut Dispensator Dapifer ', which makes nonsense.

[6] ' Magister Camerarius par est Dapifero in liberatione ' (*R.B.*, p. 811). The *B.B.*, p. 352, reads ' libacione '.

[7] ' Thesaurarius, ut Magister Camerarius ' (*R.B.*, p. 811). The *B.B.*, p. 352, reads ' Camarius '.

[8] ' Constabularii liberationes habent sicut Dapiferi et eodem modo ' (*R.B.*, p. 812 ; *B.B.*, p. 353). William FitzEudes, an extra or assistant constable, probably ranked with them.

[9] T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, i. 85, n. 5.

officers who received five shillings a day. However, the master marshal is added to the list by Stubbs and Poole, although Poole gets the number of officers of the first rank correct by overlooking the master butler ; and the dispensers are included wrongly among the recipients of five shillings a day by Harcourt.[1]

II. Officers of the second rank.

(*a*) The three Master Dispensers—of the bread,[2] the larder [3] and the butlery [4]—each received two shillings and tenpence a day and one salt simnel and one sextary of ordinary wine and one wax taper and 24 pieces of candle *extra domum* ; but *intra domum* only two shillings and half a sextary of ordinary wine and sufficient candles.

(*b*) The master of the writing office, the clerk of the spence of the bread and wine, and the chamberlain who serves in his turn [5]—i.e. the chamberlain acting as deputy for the master chamberlain—each received two shillings a day with the allowance in kind received by the master dispensers *extra domum*, and not, as might be expected, the allowances *intra domum* ; for as there is only a single rate quoted for these three officers, it is presumably an *intra domum* rate.

III. Officers of the third rank.

(*a*) Henry de la Pomerey and Roger d'Oilly (assistant or deputy constables), and John the Master Marshal,[6] received

[1] Stubbs, *op. cit.*, i. 345, n. 2 ; Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 98 ; Harcourt, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[2] ' Magister Dispensator panis assiduus . . .' (*R.B.*, p. 808 ; *B.B.*, p. 342). In both versions this paragraph precedes that on the stewards, which consequently separates the master dispenser from the dispensers who served in turn. This is obviously wrong ; the stewards should precede the master dispensers.

[3] ' Magister Dispensator assiduus Lardarii sicut Magister Dispensator panis et vini ' (*R.B.*, p. 809). The *B.B.*, p. 346, reads ' pon ' for ' panis '. The words ' et vini ' suggest that at an earlier date there was only one master dispenser for both the pannetry and the butlery.

[4] ' Magister Dispensator Buteleriae sicut Magister Dispensator panis ' (*B.B.*, p. 349), adding ' et vini ', which is absurd, as the master dispenser of the butlery was *ipso facto* the master dispenser of the wine ; but probably the clerk copied it from the entry relating to the master dispenser of the larder. The *R.B.*, p. 810, makes a much worse mistake, the scribe having jumped from ' Dispensator ' to ' Dispensatores ' in the following sentence (concerned with the subordinate dispensers who served in turn), then altered ' Magister ' to ' Magistri ' to agree with ' Dispensatores ', and so obtained the sentence : ' Magistri Dispensatores Butilariae qui per vicem serviunt sicut Dispensatores Expensae qui per vicem serviunt.' This misled Round into writing that there were ' Master Dispensers of the Butlery ' (*K.S.*, p. 61).

[5] ' Magister Scriptorii . . . Clericus expensae panis et vini . . . Camerarius qui vice sua servit ' (*R.B.*, pp. 807, 808, 811 ; *B.B.*, pp. 341, 342, 352).

[6] ' Henricus de la Pomerai . . . Rogerus de Oyli similiter. Magister Marescallus, similiter, scilicet Johannes ' (*R.B.*, p. 812) ; the *B.B.*, pp. 353–4, reads '. . . Oilli . . . Maresc̄ . . .' This obviously means : ' the Master

two shillings a day and one salt simnel and one sextary of ordinary wine and one wax taper and 24 pieces of candle *extra domum*; but *intra domum* 14 pence and half a sextary of ordinary wine and sufficient candles.

(*b*) William Mauduit (the chamberlain in charge of the *camera curie* or privy purse department) received 14 pence a day,[1] and (it is expressly stated) always took his meals in the household and received one thick candle and twelve pieces of candle [2] and had two or three sumpter horses with their allowances.[3]

IV. Officers of the fourth rank.

The dispensers, who served in turn, of the pannetry and the larder received 19 pence a day and one salt simnel and one sextary of ordinary wine and one thick candle and 20 pieces of candle *extra domum*; but *intra domum* ten pence and half a sextary of ordinary wine and sufficient candles. The dispensers of the butlery had the same pay and allowances, except that *extra domum* they had one wax taper instead of a thick candle and 24 instead of 20 pieces of candle.[4] It is noteworthy that these allowances in kind are exactly the same as those of the master dispensers.

The officers of the fourth rank are the last who were allowed simnels and with very few exceptions the last to receive wine.[5] Subordinate officials will be mentioned under their respective departments.

V. Rates of pay for minor officials descend from eight pence to one penny a day; but a number received only their food, without any wages. These again fall into three classes: those who were to take their meals in the household (*in domo commedet*); a few who received a double ration of food (*duplicem*

Marshal likewise, namely, John' (Hall, *Court Life*, p. 248), *i.e.* he received the same pay and allowances as Henry de la Pomerey and Roger de Oilly (cf. Round, *K.S.*, p. 63; *Dialogus*, p. 24; Stenton, *English Feudalism*, p. 70). Poole (*op. cit.*, p. 98) renders the passage: 'The Master Marshal, namely John, has like payment [to the stewards and constables]'; but in the *Constitutio* 'similiter' always refers to the immediately preceding entry.

[1] 'Willelmus Maudut (*sic*) xiiij d. in die' (*R.B.*, p. 811), followed by Hall, *Court Life*, p. 247, Round, *Commune of London*, p. 82, n. 1, and the editors of the *Dialogus*, p. 18. The *B.B.*, p. 352, reads: 'Villš Malduit xiii d. in die,' followed by Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 97, and Tout, *op. cit.*, i. 79, 89; but 13 pence as a rate of pay does not occur elsewhere in the *Constitutio*.

[2] 'xii frusta' (*B.B.*, p. 352). The *R.B.*, p. 811, reads 'xiij frustra'.

[3] 'ij summarios cum liberationibus suis' (*R.B.*, p. 811); 'iii sumarios ē liberacionibus suis' (*B.B.*, p. 352).

[4] 'Sed plus habent candelae' (*R.B.*, p. 810); the *B.B.*, p. 349, reads 'Scilicet plus habent Candelam'.

[5] The keeper of the butts, the chamberlain of the candle, and the four marshals who served the king's household all had wine.

cibum) ; and the majority who have only the usual food (*consuetudinarium cibum*). Some officers are allowed a daily payment for their man or men—usually three pence or three halfpence each ; and some are allotted one or more sumpter horses with the allowance therefor.

Consideration of the above analysis does not support Tout's view that ' We must not unduly stress " magister " in relation to the chamberlainship. It need not mean more than " primus inter pares ", and was a term freely employed to designate the heads of subordinate household departments.' [1] On the contrary, the title *Magister* (used adjectivally) is given only to the butler and the chamberlain (officers of the first rank), the heads of the three dispensing departments (second rank) and the marshal (third rank). Moreover, while the master chamberlain received five shillings or three shillings and six pence, the other chamberlains had only two shillings ; the master dispensers two shillings and ten pence or two shillings, the other dispensers only 19 or ten pence ; the master marshal two shillings or 14 pence, the other marshals eight pence or no money payment. Clearly no one of these master officers was merely ' primus inter pares ' ; and this is true also of the master of the writing office, the only household officer for whom the term is used as a substantive.[2]

The Chancellor

It is remarkable that, although the chancellor was the only member of the household who always received the highest pay and allowances, Stubbs believed that his office fell far below the first rank of ministerial dignities.[3] Poole also argued that the chancellor was not a dignitary of the first rank, because in the Norman period no bishop became chancellor [4] ; but this argument is not valid, because, as already explained, no earl was given any lay office of the first rank.

There is no trace of a chancery in Normandy before the Conquest ; and it is almost certain that the dukes had no chancellor. In England it is doubtful if there was a chancellor under Edward the Confessor [5] ; but soon after William had

[1] Tout, *op. cit.*, i. 85, n. 5.

[2] Under Hélie, count of Maine (1092–1110), the three chief sergeants (*servientes*) of his household were the master pantler, master butler and master cook (*Cart. de St. Pierre-de-la-Cour*, ed. S. M. d'Elbenne et L. J. Denis, no. ix).

[3] Stubbs, *op. cit.*, i. 353.

[4] Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

[5] See the discussion in *ibid.*, p. 25, n. 2.

become king of England, he promoted his Norman chaplain, Herfast, to be his first chancellor.[1]

The chancellor was the head of the royal chapel, was responsible for the king's seal, and supervised any secretarial work done by the chaplains ; but Hall argues that the evidence does not support the belief that a great secretarial department existed from the date of the Conquest.[2] However, there had been a writing office in England since the days of Athelstan (925–39) [3] ; and under the Norman kings such a secretarial department did develop, and the chancellor became 'in a manner, the secretary of state for all departments '.[4] Under Henry I the importance of the *scriptorium* greatly increased. This is proved by the remarkable rise in the pay and allowances of the master of the writing office, who was responsible for the secretarial work under the chancellor and had the actual care of the Great Seal. The *Constitutio* records that at first he had received only ten pence a day and one salt simnel and half a sextary of ordinary wine and one thick candle and twelve pieces of candle, but King Henry increased (*crevit*) Robert of the Seal so greatly that on the day of the king's death he was receiving two shillings a day and the allowances in kind already specified.[5] Robert had succeeded Richard of the Chapel, who became bishop of Hereford in January 1120/1 ; so it is evident that his office greatly increased in importance during the last fifteen years of the reign.[6]

The chancellor remained the head of the chapel, his subordinate in that department being the chaplain who was the keeper of the chapel and of the relics.[7] No rate of pay is

[1] Haskins, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–3 ; H. W. C. Davis, *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, p. xvi ; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 634.

[2] Hall, *Studies in English Official Historical Documents*, p. 215.

[3] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 349.

[4] Stubbs, *op. cit.*, i. 353.

[5] *R.B.*, p. 807 ; *B.B.*, p. 341. His predecessor, Richard of the Chapel, 'regii sigilli sub cancellario custos erat' (Eadmer, pp. 290–1 ; John of Worcester, p. 15). Clearly it was this office which later developed into that of vice-chancellor (*cf.* Stubbs, *op. cit.*, i. 353, n. 2).

[6] After the death of Henry I, Robert was one of those who escorted his body to England (Ord. Vit., v. 52). He then lived in obscurity at Reading Abbey, where his master was buried, until Henry's daughter the empress made him bishop of London (Cont. Flor. Wig., ii. 131), apparently in March 1141 (Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 67–8).

[7] 'Capellanus, Custos Capellae et Reliquiarum' (*R.B.*, p. 807). Probably 'custos' is in apposition to 'capellanus' : the chaplain (who is) the keeper. Thus Hall reads : 'The Chaplain, Keeper of the Chapel and Relics' (*Court Life*, p. 245 ; cf. *R.B.*, p. ccxc). On the other hand, one might read : 'The chaplain (and) the keeper.' The *B.B.*, p. 342, reads 'Capellani', which could only mean 'the chaplains (and) the keeper'. This entry is a heading in both versions, and is followed immediately by the entry of the corrody (p. 137, n. 2 below).

recorded for him,[1] but there was a corrody for two men ; and there were four serjeants of the chapel each of whom received double rations[2] ; and two sumpter horses of the chapel, for each of which there was allowed one penny a day and for shoeing one penny a month.[3]

Immediately after the passage relating to the chapel we have the clerk of the spence of the bread and wine, also receiving two shillings a day.[4] The position of this entry might suggest that he was concerned only with the bread and wine for use in the chapel ; but it seems unlikely that a clerk whose duties were so small would be so highly paid. Accordingly it is suggested that he was concerned with the issue of the bread and wine for the whole household and that he is entered in this place because as a clerk he was subject to the chancellor.[5] It is true that there were now separate dispensers of the bread and the wine ; but it is possible that originally there had been a single spence for both.[6]

The Stewards

The stewards are placed first among the lay officers of the first rank and they have usually been considered the chief officers of the household.[7] It was long supposed that the great office of chief justiciar evolved from that of steward, but this view was disproved by Harcourt, who showed that the office of justiciar was instituted by the Conqueror, although it was not until a later date that his vice-gerent was styled justiciar.[8] The steward is styled in Latin indifferently *seneschallus* and *dapifer*,[9] which suggests that originally there may

[1] Possibly there is an omission here, due to an oversight in the First Copy, from which both the existing versions were made.

[2] ' Corridium duorum hominum et quatuor servientes Capellae unusquisque duplicem cibum.'

[3] Next come details of the candles and the wine for the service of the chapel, which would be irrelevant here.

[4] See above, p. 133, n. 5.

[5] In 1121 Henry I elevated two of the clerks of the chapel to bishoprics, one being Richard of the Chapel (above, p. 136, n. 5), the other being Robert Pecche (above, p. 130, n. 6). Robert is wrongly called a larderer by Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 115, n. 142.

[6] *Cf.* above, p. 133, n. 3 and 5.

[7] They never had seats at the exchequer, as is duly noted by the editors of the *Dialogus*, p. 15.

[8] Harcourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–18. His arguments were unknown to Chesnel, *L'Avranchin et le Côtentin sous les ducs de Normandie*, pp. 148–50. The justiciar was never a member of the household, as is proved by the fact that he is ignored in the *Constitutio* (*cf.* Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 99). The offices of justiciar and steward might be held by the same person. So Eustace, count of Boulogne, appointed Arnold FitzElbon ' senescalum et justitiarium ' according to Lambert of Ardres (*Chron. Lamberti*, ed. le Marquis de Menilglaise, p. 245).

[9] Thus Hellin de Wavrin (*d.* 1194 at the siege of Acre) is referred to by Lambert of Ardres as ' Flandriae dapiferi, sive senescali ' (*ibid.*, p. 113).

have been two separate offices which became combined.[1] As *dapifer* he answered to the Anglo-Saxon *discthegn, i.e.* the officer whose duty it was to place the dish on the table before the king.[2] Harcourt argued that this was the only duty of the steward and that in reality he was an officer of very small importance [3]; but this view is entirely mistaken, as is evident from the *Constitutio*, and from the fact that in the twelfth century the steward of a great lord was his chief administrator and executive officer.[4] In charters of the earls of Richmond addressed to their officers, the steward, except in one instance, is always mentioned before his fellow officials.[5] We may compare the charter (1115–19) of Albold, abbot of St. Edmund's, granting the office of *dapifer* to Maurice de Windsor, which provides that 'cum vero Mauricius praenominatus ierit longe aut prope in servicium meum ad custum meum ire debet honorifice sicut dapifer'.[6]

The stewards were in charge of the hall, while the chamberlain was in charge of the chamber.[7] Moreover, there can be no doubt that the stewards had authority over those departments connected with food which in the *Constitutio* come between the stewards and the master butler.[8] These were the pannetry, the larder, the royal kitchen and the great kitchen. Round wrote that there are indications that the steward controlled the kitchen,[9] and this is proved by the record of 1236 that at a coronation the master of the cooks of the king's kitchen always received the steward's robe, and that the citizens of Winchester were bound to serve 'de coquina in auxilium senescalli'.[10] It may be added that in 1140 the steward (*dapifer*) of Archbishop Thurstan of York appears as responsible for the provisioning of his lord's household.[11]

[1] In France in the Merovingian period two seneschals appear as subordinates of the mayor of the palace (*major domus*); but under the Carolingians, when the mayor has disappeared, there was a single seneschal. 'La valeur étymologique du mot *seniscalcus* est celle-ci: *le plus ancien esclave* de la maison' (Viollet, *op. cit.*, i. 233–4).

[2] Stubbs, *op. cit.*, i. 343; *cf.* N. Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration in England*, pp. 66–7.

[3] Harcourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 76, 84.

[4] Stenton, *English Feudalism*, pp. 73–8.

[5] C. T. Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, iv. 103–4.

[6] *Chron. Jocelini de Brakelonda* (Camden Soc.), pp. 118–19; *cf.* Round, in *Ancestor*, ii. 92–3.

[7] Round, *K.S.*, p. 67.

[8] *B.B.*, pp. 342–9; *R.B.*, pp. 808–10.

[9] Round, *K.S.*, p. 73, n. 2.

[10] *R.B.*, p. 759. *Cf.* a reference to the *dapifer* as 'princeps coquorum' in the Carolingian period (Fustel de Coulanges, *op. cit.*, p. 327, n. 1).

[11] Stenton, *English Feudalism*, pp. 72–3. The steward of the kings of Jerusalem supervised the arrangements for the coronation banquet and other feasts (Denholm-Young, *op. cit.*, p. 71).

In the pannetry the chief officials were the master dispenser of the bread and his dispensers who served in turn ; there were also a naperer,[1] an usher of the spence, a waferer and a keeper of the tables,[2] each of whom was allowed the usual food and three halfpence a day for his man ; also a reckoner of the bread, who had the usual food,[3] and the bearer of the alms-dish,[4] who ate in the household. There were also four bakers, serving simultaneously,[5] two of whom served and ate in the household, and two journeying around [6] had 40 pence for procuring a Rouen measure [of flour], from which they were to render 40 lords' simnels and 140 (or 150) salt simnels and 260 (or 270) loaves [7] ; the lords' simnel for four men, the salt simnel for two men, the loaf for one man.[8]

It will have been seen that there is no mention of a pantler ; so it is likely that the reckoner of the bread acted as such.[9] It is true that, near the end of his reign, Henry I granted to Odoin de Malpalu [10] ' totum suum misterium de mea panetaria ',[11] but this was only a local office—' la boulangerie de Rouen ', as Delisle describes it.[12] When the king left Rouen, Odoin did not follow the court, but had all the bread that was left over.[13]

[1] ' Napparius ' (*R.B.*) ; ' Maparius ' (*B.B.*). He was allowed a penny a day for a sumpter horse and a penny a month for shoeing him. For napery services, see Round, *K.S.*, pp. 222–7.

[2] ' Hostiarius expensae . . . Nebularius . . . Bordarius.' The last had a sumpter horse with his allowance ; the *R.B.* reads ' ligatione ' for ' liberatione.' For the waferer serjeanty, see Round, *K.S.*, pp. 227–31.

[3] ' Computator panis ' (*R.B.*) ; the *B.B.* omits the initial ' C '.

[4] ' Portator Scutellae Elem̃ ' (*B.B.*). The *R.B.* omits ' Elem̃ '. Probably a tray or scuttle in which broken victuals were put (Hall, in *R.B.*, p. ccxcix).

[5] ' De quatuor pistoribus simul una vice servientibus ' (*R.B.*) : the *B.B.* reads ' sua vice '. If the latter reading is correct, there must have been eight (or more) bakers, who served in sets of four in rotation.

[6] ' Et duo pereuntes ' (*R.B.*). The *B.B.* has ' peuntes '.

[7] ' xl siminellos dominicos et cl sal[atos] et cclx panes de pistrino ' (*R.B.*). The *B.B.* reads ' xl Simenellos Dominicos et c et xl sal[atos] et cc et lxx panes de pistrino '.

[8] The *R.B.* omits ' panis 1 homini '.

[9] *Cf.* Round, *K.S.*, p. 201.

[10] ' De mala Palude ' is rendered ' de Malpalet ' by Farrer (*Itin. Hen. I*, no. 628), but Delisle and Round are certainly right in giving the name as ' de Malpalu '. It appears as ' Malpalus ' in the *aveu* of the seigneur of Gouy in 1565 (Le Marquis de Belbeuf, *Histoire des Grands Panetiers de Normandie*, p. 101). In 1924 the writer noticed in the Musée des Antiquités at Rouen an ' Inscription de la maison démolie dite le " Four Banal " ' in the Rue Malpalu.

[11] L. Delisle, *Cart. Normand*, no. 14 ; on the date *cf.* Delisle, *Mémoire sur la chronologie des chartes de Henri II*, p. 35, and *Recueil des Actes de Henri II*, Introduction, pp. 34, 553 ; Round, *Cal. Docs. France*, p. xxvii, and *Arch. Jrl.*, lx. 269 and lxiv. 73–8 ; *K.S.*, p. 200 ; Farrer, *op. cit.*, no. 628 ; *Complete Peerage*, x, Appendix G, p. 93, note (d).

[12] *Cf.* Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 118. In a French royal charter of 1256 to Laurent Chambellan, the office is called : ' panetarium nostrum de Rothomago ' (De Belbeuf, *op. cit.*, p. 20).

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 137–9.

The larder similarly was under a master dispenser, with dispensers who served in turn. There were also larderers, who served in turn,[1] with an usher of the larder, each of whom was allowed the usual food and three halfpence a day for his man; and slaughterers, who received only the usual food.

The staff of the royal kitchen (*dominica coquina*) comprised a cook, a keeper of the vessels, and a scullion,[2] each of whom was to take his meals in the household and was allowed three halfpence a day for his man; also an usher and a serjeant, as well as the cook and dispenser (or dispensers) of the king's private household,[3] who all received the usual food, while the usher was allowed three halfpence a day for his man.

The staff of the great kitchen is headed by a certain Oin Polchehart,[4] followed by two cooks,[5] serjeants, the usher of the spithouse,[6] the keeper of the spits,[7] and the keeper of the dishes[8]; who all received the usual food and, with the exception of the serjeants, had three halfpence a day each for his man. The carter of the great kitchen and the carter of the larder each received a double ration[9]; and the serjeant who received the venison was to take his meals in the household and had three halfpence a day for his man.[10] It may be noted that *venatio*, besides venison in the modern sense, covered other animals of the chase, such as hares, foxes and wolves.[11]

[1] 'Lardarii' (*R.B.*); 'Lardenarii' (*B.B.*). This office might be held by a clerk, for in 1102 Roger, the king's larderer, was appointed bishop of Hereford (Eadmer, p. 141). For larderer serjeanties and claims to execute the office of larderer at coronations, see Round, *K.S.*, pp. 233–43.

[2] 'Cocus Dominicae Coquinae . . . Vasarius . . . Sumularius' (*R.B.*); the *B.B.*, for the last, reads 'Sumelarius'. The two last had a sumpter horse with his allowance.

[3] 'Hostiarius coquinae ejusdem . . . Serviens Coquinae . . . Cocus privatorum Regis et Dispensatores' (*R.B.*). The *B.B*, in the last clause, reads 'Socus . . . dispensator'.

[4] 'Oinus Polchehart' (*B.B.*), but Hearne misread 'Oinus' as 'Oms', which he took to be 'omnis' or 'omnes'; the *R.B.* reads 'Polcheardus'; *cf.* Round, *Studies in the Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. 29 (hereinafter referred to as *Studies R.B.*). Hall, *R.B.*, p. ccxcix, points out that in 1130 he was holding a hide in Berks (*Pipe Roll*, 31 Hen. I, p. 126); and Round, *K.S.*, p. 59, adds that in 1086 Polcehard held a hide in that county. Hearne took his name to mean 'the poulterer', and was followed by Hall, *Court Life*, p. 246; *R.B.*, *ut supra*; which is certainly a mistake (Round, *K.S.*, p. 58).

[5] 'Duo Coqui, uterque' (*R.B.*); the *B.B.* reads 'utque'.

[6] 'Servientes ejusdem Coquinae . . . Host[iarius] hastelariae' (*B.B.*); the *R.B.* reads 'Hast[elarius] Hastalariae'.

[7] 'Hastelarius similiter' (*R.B.*); the *B.B.* reads 'Hastalarius' and omits 'similiter'.

[8] 'Scutellarius similiter' (*B.B.*); the *R.B.* transposes the two words, contrary to the custom of the *Constitutio*. He had a sumpter horse.

[9] Each received a fair allowance for his horse: 'justam liberationem' (*R.B.*); 'justam libacionem' (*B.B.*).

[10] 'Serviens qui recipit venationem.' Here 'recipit' must have the sense of 'accipit' (receives).

[11] See, e.g., *Cal. Charter Rolls*, ii. 373.

The Master Butler [1]

Here again, as with the stewards, there are two distinct Latin words, *pincerna* and *buticularius*; but there is no evidence that originally they represented different offices.[2] In England *pincerna* was generally used; but in the *Constitutio* the department of the *magister pincerna* is styled the *buteleria*. There was already a master butler, named Gerard, in Normandy more than ten years before the Conquest [3]; but he seems to have been succeeded before 1066 by Hugh de Ivry.[4] Hugh's last known attestation is to a royal charter of 1082,[5] but he was still living in 1086.[6] A Roger de Ivry, who is usually supposed to be his brother, but may have been his nephew,[7] also attests as *pincerna* so early as 1068,[8] and, like Hugh, attests the above-mentioned charter of 1082 with that addition. It is likely that Hugh was the master butler, and Roger his deputy or assistant, and successor.[9] In 1189 Roger witnesses a charter of Robert duke of Normandy as *pincerna*.[10] Who acted as master butler in England under William II is not known; in fact, the history of the office is obscure until about

[1] The *B.B.* inserts a heading 'De Buteleria'. The relevant entries are printed in the *R.B.*, pp. 810–11, and the *B.B.*, pp. 349–51.

[2] 'Pincerna' was used in France in the Merovingian period; 'buticularius' appears in the Carolingian (Viollet, *op. cit.*, i. 234–5).

[3] A charter, *ante* 1056, of Mauger, archbishop of Rouen, bears the *signum* 'Gerardi, pincernarum magister comitis Willelmi' (*Cartulaire de St. Père de Chartres*, ed. B. Guérard, p. 176). Gerard had previously, in the year of William's marriage, attested a charter for Préaux as Gerard the count's butler (A. Le Prévost, *Notes sur l'Eure*, iii. 324); and the 'signum Girardi pincerne' is appended to a charter (of doubtful authenticity) of William, duke of the Normans, for Jumièges (*Chartes de l'abbaye de Jumièges*, Soc. de l'Hist. de Normandie, no. xxxi, wrongly identified by the editor with Round, *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 152 and dated 'avant 1079'). In France a 'princeps pincernarum' occurs so early as the Merovingian period (Viollet, *op. cit.*, i. 235).

[4] Round, *Cal. Docs. France*, nos. 73, 81, 1167. Although not styled 'magister pincerna', there can be no doubt that he was the master butler; *cf.* Round, *K.S.*, pp. 140–1.

[5] Davis, *op. cit.*, no. 150.

[6] 'He was certainly the Hugh d'Ivry who held Ambrosden (Oxon) in 1086, and probably the Hugh "Pincerna" who then held some lands in Beds' (Round, *K.S.*, p. 141).

[7] That Hugh and Roger were brothers is assumed by Davis, *op. cit.*, p. xxvii, and considered probable by Round, *K.S.*, p. 140, n. 3. However, D. C. Douglas suggests that this Hugh may have been the uncle (*avunculus*) named Hugh to whom Roger seems to have become heir within the years 1081–96 (*Domesday Monachorum of Christchurch Canterbury*, p. 56).

[8] Davis, *op. cit.*, no. 23.

[9] Davis says that 'Hugh was Butler in the Norman household' (*ibid.*, p. xxvii); Douglas calls Roger 'butler of Normandy' (*op. cit.*, p. 56); but it is a fallacy to suppose the king had separate households for England and Normandy.

[10] Davis, *op. cit.*, no. 308.

the middle of the reign of Henry I, who gave it as hereditary to William de Aubigny, on whom he also bestowed the barony of Buckenham in Norfolk.[1]

The *Constitutio* shows that at the end of the Norman period the butler still ranked as one of the chief officers of the royal household. Similarly in a charter (of 1154) of the archbishop of Canterbury the lay witnesses are headed by Robert the Butler (*pincerna*).[2] However, in England the butler was never so important as the butler of the king of France, who controlled the vineyards of the royal demesne, collected a tax from the abbeys of royal foundation and often sat as judge in the king's court.[3] Although in Normandy vineyards were an important asset,[4] the attempts of the Normans to introduce vine-growing into England met with little success, which is probably the reason why in England the office of master butler soon declined in importance and after the loss of Normandy sank to quite a minor position.[5] Probably the master butler was responsible for the collection of the prise of wine: from each ship two barrels, one before and one abaft the mast, at the king's selection, for his own drinking or for giving away, but not for selling[6]; for which the king paid a fixed price of 20 shillings the cask.[7] At court, besides being in charge of the butlery, it was his right to serve the king with wine in the hall. This duty or privilege was often performed by deputy; but the master butler was entitled at any time to displace the acting butler and officiate in person. Walter Map relates how the earl of Arundel suddenly appeared at court, when the kings of England and France were feasting in Paris, and forcibly displaced the officiating butler.[8] The *Constitutio* does not mention any assistant butlers. The master butler's chief subordinate was the master dispenser of the butlery, who was assisted by dispensers who served in rotation. The keeper of

[1] Round, *K.S.*, p. 141.

[2] Stenton, *English Feudalism*, pp. 69–70, 266–7.

[3] Luchaire, *Manuel*, p. 525. In England the master butler had no seat at the exchequer, as is noted by the editors of the *Dialogus*, p. 15.

[4] Le Prévost, *Notes sur l'Eure*, i. 164; ii. 180. In the sixteenth century the Norman vineyards began to be abandoned owing to the ravages of wild boar and deer (R. N. Sauvage, *L'Abbaye de St. Martin de Troarn*, p. 276, n. 6); and they were killed by a heavy tax under Louis XIII (De Belbeuf, *op. cit.*, p. 126).

[5] It is true that the record of the coronation of Queen Eleanor in 1236 speaks of the earl butler (*comes pincerna*), but this was only because the holder of the office was an earl.

[6] Round, *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 112.

[7] Round, *Family Origins*, pp. 237–51.

[8] Map, *op. cit.*, pp. 245–6; apparently in 1158 (Round, *K.S.*, p. 143). The master chamberlain of Normandy displaced the acting chamberlain in the same way at Caen in 1182 (Map, *op. cit.*, pp. 244–5).

the butts[1] was allowed the usual food, half a sextary of ordinary wine and twelve pieces of candle, and three pence a day for his men[2]; the cellarmen only the usual food,[3] but a serjeant, besides this, was to have three halfpence for his man and two sumpter horses with their allowances.[4] The usher of the butlery had the same, except the horses[5]; but the keepers of the wine-hose were to eat in the household and have three pence each for their men.[6] The functions of these *hosarii* are not certain. Hearne, like Du Cange (*sub* Osa), took *hosarii* to be hosiers (of the wardrobe) in charge of the king's hose. He was followed by Hall[7]; but later Hall wrote that 'probably the confusion between the hosiers of the wardrobe and buttery respectively is of old standing'.[8] Round proved that *hosae* were vessels used apparently for the transport of wine, the shape of which probably suggested a boot. The family of St. Philibert held Cresswell in Berkshire by serjeanty 'de la Huse', and Robert *Hosarius* was a landholder in 1130.[9] It is likely that while the *buttarii* looked after the wine stored in butts in the cellars, the *hosarii* were responsible for it in transit.

The number of cupbearers[10] is not specified, but four only were to serve simultaneously in their turn, two of them eating in the household and two having their usual food, while each of them had three halfpence for his man. The keepers of the mazers had double rations.[11]

The fruiterer ate in the household and had three pence for

[1] 'Buttarius' (*R.B.*); 'Butarius' (*B.B.*). 'Buttarius' is used by Lambert of Ardres in another sense: a navvy or earth-worker (*Chron. Lamberti*, p. 379); 'bucharii' (*ibid.*, p. 383) is clearly a variant with the same meaning (*cf.* pp. 460, 474), not a 'bûcheron', as Du Cange supposed.

[2] 'Et iii d.' (*B.B.*); the *R.B.* omits 'et' and reads 'ij d.'

[3] 'Operarii Buttariae' (*R.B.*); 'Oparii Butar.' (*B.B.*).

[4] 'Sereius praeter hoc . . .' Hearne was probably right in taking 'Sereius' to be an abbreviation for 'Sereiantius' or 'Seriantus', *i.e.* 'serviens'. Hall first followed Hearne (*Court Life*, p. 247), but later (*R.B.*, p. ccxcix) suggested that he was the 'Saretus serviens' living in 1130 (*Pipe Roll*, 31 Hen. I, p. 47).

[5] The office of usher of the butlery was vested as hereditary in the family of Kivilli before the death of Henry I (Round, *K.S.*, pp. 183–5).

[6] 'Et hominibus suis unicuique iij d.' (*R.B.*); the *B.B.* reads 'unusquisque tres domar'.

[7] Hall, *Court Life*, pp. 244, 247.

[8] *R.B.*, p. ccxcix.

[9] Round, *K.S.*, pp. 177–83. In Normandy Martin *de Hosa* was a minister of Henry II (Delisle-Berger, *Recueil des actes de Henri II*, Introduction, p. 404); who granted him, as *pincerne meo*, 300 acres in the forest of Eawy, afterwards the fief of La Heuse (*Bulletin de la Soc. de l'Hist. de Normandie*, xvi. 44–54).

[10] 'De Escantionibus' (a heading in both versions). Their office seems to have lapsed at an early date; *cf.* Round, *K.S.*, p. 61.

[11] 'Mazenarii duplicem cibum tantum' (*B.B.*). The *R.B.* omits this entry.

his men.[1] It is likely that he was responsible not only for the fruit but for the wax and candles, as was the case at the court of France under Louis IX in the next century.[2] This arrangement seems to have persisted in France; for in the detailed account of the disbursements made on account of the Baronne de Mauny in 1552 the daily purchase of candles is always entered under 'Fruicterye'.[3]

The carter had the usual food and allowance for his horse or horses.[4]

The Master Chamberlain [5]

In Normandy before the Conquest the chamberlains were styled indifferently *camerarius* and *cubicularius*. Originally these words denoted different officers; for under the Carolingians the *camera* was the royal treasury and the *cubiculum* was the royal bedchamber.[6] The fact that a chamberlain might be designated by either style under the Normans suggests that the dukes kept their treasure in their bedchamber, as the English kings had done.[7] The separation of the treasury from the chamber resulted in a partial reversion to the earlier distinction. The master chamberlain and the chamberlains of the treasury are always styled *camerarius*; but the chamberlains in actual charge of the bedchamber may be styled either *camerarius* or *cubicularius*.[8]

The early history of the master chamberlain has been examined elsewhere.[9] He was in charge of the royal bedchamber, and in the hall he was entitled to offer the king water in a silver basin when he dined. Originally his most important duty was to act as treasurer and it is likely that he still possessed this function at the time of the Conquest; but before the end of the dynasty his financial functions had passed to a new officer, the treasurer.

His chief subordinates were now the chamberlains who

[1] 'De Fructuar.' (*B.B.*); 'De Fructuariis' (*R.B.*); but after this heading both versions read "Fructuarius' followed by the verb in the singular.

[2] Hearne in *B.B.*

[3] *Mélanges*, 4e Série (Soc. de l'Hist. de Normandie), pp. 121–81; which surprised the editor (p. 119).

[4] 'Caretarius . . . et equis suis liberationem' (*R.B.*); 'Carettarius . . . et equo suam libacionem' (*B.B.*).

[5] Neither version inserts a heading for the master chamberlain. The entries relating to his department are printed in the *R.B.*, pp. 811–12, and the *B.B.*, pp. 352–3.

[6] Fustel de Coulanges, *op. cit.*, pp. 327–8. The *camera* was a chamber in the palace; *cf.* J. M. Fachan, *Finances féodales*, pp. 97–8.

[7] *Cf.* above, p. 130, n. 7.

[8] The word *cubicularius* is never used in the *Constitutio*.

[9] *Complete Peerage*, x, Appendix F.

served in turn. The entry in the *Constitutio*, however, is in the singular: the chamberlain who serves in his turn,[1] which implies that it was only the chamberlain on duty who received the pay and allowances.[2] This view is confirmed by another entry, which states that the chamberlains without an allowance shall eat in the household if they wish.[3] These are clearly the chamberlains who serve in rotation, when they are not on duty.

Next in importance among the chamberlains is William Mauduit.[4] Why the name of the holder of the office is given, instead of the name of the office, is not apparent.[5] The result is that there has been a difference of opinion about the post which he held. He was younger son of William Mauduit, a tenant-in-chief in Hampshire in 1086,[6] who held a chamberlainship of the treasury, which passed to his elder son Robert.[7] Robert died before Michaelmas 1130, when William de Pont de l'Arche rendered account of 1,000 marks for his office and daughter,[8] which makes it unlikely that this was the office held by the younger William in 1135.[9] It is practically certain that he held the *ministerium camere curie*, which answered approximately to the office of keeper of the privy purse, as the editors of the *Dialogus* think probable.[10]

[1] 'Camerarius qui vice sua servit'; *i.e.* the chamberlain who serves in his turn (Hall, *Court Life*, p. 247). Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 97, has 'The chamberlain who serves in the chamberlain's place', apparently taking 'vice sua' as equivalent to 'vice ejus'. Tout, *op. cit.*, i. 89, reads 'Camerariusque', which destroys the sense of the passage, and describes him as 'a chamberlain who seemed to be acting as the deputy of the master chamberlain'.

[2] If the chamberlains off duty had received the pay and allowances, the formula would have been 'Camerarii qui per vicem serviunt' or 'Camerarii per vicem servientes'.

[3] 'Camerarii sine liberatione in domo comedent, si voluerint' (*B.B.*); the *R.B.* reads 'Camerarius sine liberatione in Domo commedet, si voluerit'; which would imply that there was only one chamberlain off duty, and so that there were only two altogether, which cannot be right. This entry has baffled all the authorities, not one of whom connected the chamberlains without an allowance with the chamberlains who served in turn. See Hall, *Court Life*, p. 248; *Dialogus*, p. 18; Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 97; Tout, *op. cit.*, i. 89.

[4] See above, p. 134, n. 1. Probably he received the usual household wine, but this was omitted in the First Copy.

[5] Tout, *op. cit.*, i. 88, says that he 'is doubtless not called a chamberlain because everybody knew that he was one as well as we do'; but this does not explain why William is named.

[6] *Cf.* Round, in *V.C.H. Hants*, i. 432. Tout, *op. cit.*, i. 75, thinks that he may be the 'Willelmus camerarius regis' of some contemporary charters. He probably died in or before 1106 (Round, in *Ancestor*, v. 208).

[7] Round, *Commune of London*, p. 82.

[8] Of which he had paid only 100 marks (*Pipe Roll*, 31 Henry I, p. 37).

[9] Nevertheless, that is the view held by Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 99; and Round, *Commune of London*, p. 82, n. 1.

[10] For a full discussion of the question, see White, in *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.*, 4 Ser., viii. 72–8.

It appears that the master chamberlain had retained the control of the *camera curie*, after the treasury had passed out of his hands; but that before 1130 the actual financial functions had passed to one or two subordinate chamberlains, of whom William Mauduit was one, and, as the *Constitutio* shows, the only one in office in 1135. The editors of the *Dialogus* say of Aubrey II de Vere, the master chamberlain, that in 1130 'we do not as yet find him acting as treasurer or receiving money in the "Camera Curie". The latter office appears to be performed by William Mauduit.'[1] However, it was not until 1133 that Henry I granted the office of master chamberlain to Aubrey, and there is no evidence that he ever exercised such functions either before or after his appointment. In 1130 William Mauduit seems to have shared the charge of the *camera curie* with Osbert de Pont de l'Arche, for whom a *ministerium camere curie* was bought by his brother William, the treasurer.[2]

The only other officer of the chamber who received payment was the chamberlain of the candle, who had eight pence a day and half a sextary of ordinary wine.[3] The bearer of the king's bed[4] and the king's cutter each ate in the household and was allowed three halfpence a day for his man.[5] There has been considerable difference of opinion as to whether the cutter was a tailor or a tally-cutter. Hearne took him to be the king's teller ('numerator'), in connexion with tallies. Hall first supposed that he was a tailor, but later a tally-cutter.[6] Round first took *tallator* to mean a tally-cutter, but later he argued at length that it meant a tailor.[7] Poole has 'tailor', ignoring the alternative.[8] The editors of the *Dialogus* cautiously refrain from translating *tallator regis*, but say that he 'may be the Godefridus Tallator who resided in Winchester, or the Robertus Tallator who had a woodman at Eling, in the New Forest', citing the Pipe Roll of 1130.[9] However, on the Pipe Roll the spelling is 'Taleator', which Round regards as the

[1] *Dialogus*, p. 18, citing *Pipe Roll*, 31 Hen. I, p. 134.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 37; *cf.* White, in *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.*, 4 Ser., viii. 73–4. William Mauduit attests as Chamberlain in 1131 (Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 113).

[3] Note that a very minor official is styled a chamberlain.

[4] 'Portator lecti Regis.' Hearne took 'lecti' to mean 'litter', and was followed by Hall, *Court Life*, p. 247, and Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 97, who both read 'The porter of the king's litter'; but Round, *K.S.*, p. 257, and Tout, *op. cit.*, i. 84, regard him as the man who 'carried the king's bed'. He had a sumpter horse with allowance.

[5] The editors of the *Dialogus*, p. 18, quote the rate as $3\frac{1}{2}d.$

[6] Hall, *Court Life*, p. 244; *R.B.*, p. ccxcix.

[7] Round, *Studies R.B.*, p. 33; *K.S.*, pp. 257–60.

[8] Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[9] *Dialogus*, p. 18, citing *Pipe Roll*, 31 Hen. I, pp. 41, 17.

right form for a tally-cutter.[1] The evidence collected by Round makes it likely that Godfrey was a tailor and Robert a tally-cutter [2]; which does not help to solve the problem. However, as the cutter was a subordinate of the chamberlain, it is likely that he was a tailor; although it is not impossible that he was a tally-cutter attached to the *camera curie*; but on the latter theory it is difficult to understand why he should be styled the *king's* cutter.

The ewerer had double rations; and when the king went on a journey, a penny for drying the king's clothes; and when the king had a bath, four pence, except on the three yearly Feasts, obviously a reference to the courts held at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, when the king wore his crown.[3] It may be inferred that it was the custom for the king to have a bath on those occasions. Under John, the *aquarius* was allowed only four pence halfpenny for two baths: the only baths taken by the king—besides presumably the free bath at Whitsun—between 16 April and 3 August 1212.[4] The chamberlain's department ends with a note that there was doubt about a washerwoman, or (in the other version) a washerman.[5]

The Treasurer

The treasurer is entered immediately after the master chamberlain in the *Constitutio*, which reads 'Thesaurarius ut Magister Camerarius si in Curia fuerit et servierit in Thesauro',[6] or (in the other version) 'ut Thesaur[arius]'.[7] Both versions are obscure. As the treasury was now fixed at Winchester,[8] the first would apparently mean that the treasurer was only paid as a member of the household when the court was at Winchester. The second might mean the same, or that the duties of the treasurer were intermittent. Poole, following the Black Book as usual, reads 'as treasurer'; but he understands the clause to mean 'so long as he acts in the treasury',[9] which is really the Red Book version. Tout also accepts the Black Book reading of 'ut thesaurarius', but takes this to

[1] Round, *K.S.*, p. 260. Similarly 'talea' was the correct form for a tally (H. Jenkinson, in *Archaeologia*, lxii. 367).
[2] Round, *K.S.*, pp. 258–60.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 131, 319. The *R.B.* reads 'iijd' for 'iiijd.'
[4] Tout, *op. cit.*, i. 84, n. 2.
[5] 'De Lavatrice in dubio est' (*R.B.*); the *B.B.* reads 'Lavatore'.
[6] *R.B.*, p. 811.
[7] *B.B.*, p. 352, which reads 'Camarius'.
[8] Perhaps early in the eleventh century (Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 635).
[9] Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–8.

mean that 'the Treasurer was only paid as a court officer when he was actually at court and serving as court treasurer, that is, as treasurer of the *camera curie*'.[1] This interpretation is probably correct, but it is difficult to believe that the words 'ut thesaurarius' could convey such a meaning. So I suggest that the original entry read '. . . et servierit in camera'; that a careless copyist, bearing in mind that he was dealing with the treasurer, wrote *thesauro* instead of *camera*, and that the clerk who made the Black Book copy from the earlier copy altered 'in thesauro' to 'ut thesaur[arius]' in an attempt to make sense of the passage.

The chamberlains of the treasury are not mentioned in the *Constitutio*, which proves that they were no longer regarded as members of the household; nor do any other officials of the treasury appear therein. Accordingly, it is likely that the separation between the chamber and the treasury was now complete, contrary to the opinion of Tout and the editors of the *Dialogus*.[2]

On the other hand, the *Dialogus de Scaccario* (1179), being devoted to the exchequer and not to the court, gives prominence to the two chamberlains of the exchequer (as the chamberlains of the treasury were then styled) and ignores the master chamberlain, who by that time had lost all connexion with the financial departments. Failure to grasp this distinction resulted in Poole confusing the master chamberlain with the chamberlains of the exchequer, for he wrote:

> Even when the treasurer acquired a substantial position, he ranked after the chief chamberlain.[3] . . . This was how he stood in the reign of Henry I. It was only when the account came to take the first place and the custody of the money the second, that the order was reversed, and the Treasurer ranked before the two chamberlains.[4]

Of course the relative positions of the master chamberlain and the treasurer were not affected. The offices of master chamberlain and chamberlain of the treasury were confused also by Tout.[5]

It remains doubtful whether the office of treasurer came into existence by gradual evolution or was created as a new office by Henry I; and even when it emerges from obscurity in the latter part of his reign, opinions differ as to whether it

[1] Tout, *op. cit.*, i. 86.
[2] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*; *Dialogus*, p. 18.
[3] Apparently a deduction from the fact that the treasurer is entered after the master chamberlain in the *Constitutio*.
[4] Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–6.
[5] Tout, *op. cit.*, i. 91–2.

was held by Roger, bishop of Salisbury, Geoffrey de Clinton, Neel (bishop of Ely in 1133) or William de Pont de l'Arche. As the question has been discussed exhaustively elsewhere,[1] it may be sufficient to say that one strong argument (*inter alia*) in favour of William de Pont de l'Arche proves also that the treasurer continued to be paid five shillings a day when neither in the treasury nor in the *camera curie*. This is an entry on the Pipe Roll of 1130 which records that William was allowed £15.15.0 for 63 days when he went from Normandy to Durham.[2] Haskins supposed that this was paid to William as chamberlain,[3] but the master chamberlain was then Rabel de Tancarville, and the only office of the first rank which William could have held was that of treasurer.

There is no reason to doubt that the treasurer, like the other chief officers of the household, had jurisdiction both in England and in Normandy. The Pipe Roll of 1130 shows the two chamberlains of the treasury, Robert Mauduit and Geoffrey de Clinton, acting in Normandy, and William de Pont de l'Arche, the treasurer, himself in the duchy, although not necessarily in his official capacity; and his brother, Osbert de Pont de l'Arche, and Neel (bishop of Ely in 1133 and treasurer under Stephen) receiving money in the Norman treasury.[4] These were probably the treasurer's deputies in Normandy when he was in England, and it is likely that they were styled treasurers; for a charter of Henry I (1121–31) is addressed (*inter alios*) 'thesaurariis et omnibus fidelibus suis per Normanniam constitutis'.[5] Haskins believed that there was a separate treasurer of Normandy, and that the office was held under Henry I by Gilbert of Evreux, and his five sons in turn;[6] but he was certainly mistaken.[7]

The Constables[8]

The constables controlled the stables, from which they took their name,[9] the kennels and the mews, in fact everything connected with the king's sport. They were responsible for

[1] White, in *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.*, 4 Ser., viii. 64–72.
[2] *Pipe Roll*, 31 Hen. I, p. 131.
[3] Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 115, n. 146, and p. 119.
[4] *Pipe Roll*, 31 Hen. I, pp. 37, 131, 63.
[5] Haskins, *op. cit.*, pp. 106–7.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 106–9.
[7] White, 'Treasurers in Normandy under Henry I', in *N. and Q.*, cl. 59–60.
[8] Neither version inserts a heading for the constables. The entries relating to their department are printed in the *R.B.*, pp. 812–13, and the *B.B.*, pp. 353–9.
[9] Hugh de Montfort, a royal constable, is styled 'Hugo stabulariorum comes' by Orderic, ii. 148. The original form was 'comes stabuli' (Viollet, *op. cit.*, i. 234).

the payment of the officials concerned with the horses, hounds and hawks, as well as the king's soldiers, and had duties at the exchequer.[1] They do not seem to have had any duties inside the palace, and doubtless for that reason they do not appear to have played any official part at a coronation [2]; for they are ignored in the official record of the claims and services at the coronation of Eleanor of Provence in 1236,[3] the earliest coronation for which such a record survives. However, besides their functions at court and at the exchequer, they had military duties in the field. Some writers have supposed that they were commanders of the royal army [4]; but this is certainly mistaken. It is true that Orderic describes Robert de Montfort, a constable, as 'magister militum'; but so he also describes William FitzOsbern, a steward, and Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, who held neither office.[5] It is likely that the constable acted as quartermaster-general.[6]

During the Norman period there were three hereditary constableships.[7] One was vested in the Montforts of Montfort-sur-Risle, whose heiress carried the office to her second husband, Robert de Vere, constable in the later years of Henry I.[8] Another was held by the house of Oilli, and in 1135 both Brian FitzCount, second husband of the heiress, and her cousin Robert d'Oilly seem to have been constables. The third office was vested in, but forfeited by, the Abetot family, and was granted by Henry I to Walter de Gloucester, whose son Miles (afterwards earl of Hereford) held it in 1135.

These constables of the royal household have been confused with the constables or castellans of royal castles. Thus both Stubbs and A. S. Ellis supposed that the office of constable which passed from the Gloucester family to the Bohuns, and developed into that of lord high constable of England, grew out of the office of constable of Gloucester Castle, also hereditary in both families.[9] In reality the two offices were entirely distinct. The constable of a royal castle was (as such)

[1] *Dialogus*, pp. 71–2; *cf.* pp. 24–5.

[2] *Cf.* White, in *Genealogists' Mag.*, vi. 508. [3] *R.B.*, pp. 755–60.

[4] Le Prévost's note in Ord. Vit., iv. 240, n. 1; Valin, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

[5] Ord. Vit., iv. 50; ii. 265, 223. This misled T. Madox into supposing that William FitzOsbern was a constable (*History of the Exchequer*, i. 40).

[6] Stubbs, *op. cit.*, i. 401.

[7] For the descent of these offices see White, in *Genealogist*, N.S., xxxviii. 113–27; but the Montfort descent should be corrected in accordance with Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 67–78, and White, in *Genealogists' Mag.*, vii. 255–6; ix. 465–6.

[8] For Robert de Vere see *Complete Peerage*, x, Appendix J, pp. 111–12.

[9] Stubbs, *op. cit.*, i. 355; A. S. Ellis, *Landholders of Gloucestershire in Domesday Book*, p. 79. The editors of the *Dialogus*, pp. 25–6, are mistaken in thinking that the Bohuns did not derive the office of constable from the Gloucester family by inheritance.

strictly a local officer, and ranked after the sheriff; for when both offices were held by the same person, he was styled 'vicecomes' rather than 'constabularius'. Thus the fact that Walter de Gloucester was styled 'Walterius constabularius'[1] is additional proof that he was a constable of the royal household as well as castellan of Gloucester. It is, however, a curious fact that the families of Montfort, Oilli, Abetot and Gloucester were also hereditary constables of royal castles. Whether this was due to chance or to some unknown reason is uncertain.[2]

Although in one battle under Henry II a royal constable, Henry de Essex, bore the royal banner,[3] there is no reason to believe that a constable was banner-bearer *ex officio*, as seems to be assumed in the case of Ponthieu by Brunel; who identifies Henry the Constable with Henry Forel *signifer*, without any evidence.[4]

Immediately after the constables comes the entry that William FitzEudes [5] receives one lords' simnel and one sextary of clear wine and one wax taper and 24 pieces of candle. There is no rate of pay, nor is it said that he is paid at the same rate as the constables; but the fact that he received a lords' simnel and clear wine proves that he is regarded as an officer of the first rank, although his allowance is not equal to that of the constables *extra domum*. He must have been an extra constable, not usually expected to attend at court; and he does actually attest as constable.[6] It is likely that the rate of pay was omitted in error, either in the original manuscript of the *Constitutio*, or more probably in the First Copy from which both the existing versions are transcribed. Next follow the entries concerning Henry de la Pomerey and Roger de Oilly, who were evidently assistant constables, and as their pay shows, of a much lower rank; they do not attest as constables.[7]

William FitzEudes was a Devonshire baron, son of Eudes

[1] *Hist. et Cart. S. Petri Gloucestriae* (Rolls Ser.), i. 188.

[2] On the constables of the great barons see Stenton, *English Feudalism*, pp. 78–80; on the Flemish castellans see *Complete Peerage*, x, Appendix J, p. 120.

[3] Will. Newburgh (Rolls Ser.), i. 108; Gerv. Cant. (Rolls Ser.), i. 165.

[4] C. Brunel, *Recueil des actes des comtes de Pontieu*, p. lv. Henry the *signifer* also attests a charter of 1101 (*sic*; ? 1100) in *Recueil de documents pour servir à l'histoire de Montreuil*, ed. de Lhomel, no. iii.

[5] 'Willelmus filius Odonis' (*R.B.*); the *B.B.* reads 'Villē'.

[6] Round, *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 373; Farrer, *op. cit.*, nos. 648, 653.

[7] Henry de la Pomerey and William FitzEudes are bracketed together as constables by Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 89; but a charter witnessed by William as constable is attested by Henry without that addition (Farrer, *op. cit.*, no. 648).

FitzGamelin, a tenant-in-chief of 1086.[1] In 1139 he rebelled against Stephen, but was captured by Henry de Tracey.[2] Henry de la Pomerey was also a Devonshire baron, son of Jocelin de la Pomerey, who was the heir of Ralph de la Pomerey, the Domesday tenant.[3] He had fought for Henry I in the rebellion of 1123 in Normandy; and in 1136 he was one of Stephen's commanders in the duchy.[4] Roger de Oilly was doubtless a cadet of the Oxfordshire family of hereditary constables and the same Roger de Oilly who was with the Empress Maud at Winchester in 1141.[5]

After the assistant constables[6] comes the entry stating that the master marshal, namely John, receives the same pay and allowances, continuing: 'and besides this it is his duty to have tallies (*dicas*) for the gifts and liveries which have been made from the king's treasury and from his chamber and it is his duty to have tallies (*dicas*) against all the king's officials as evidence for all things.'[7] This statement is confirmed by a corresponding passage in the *Dialogus*.[8] However, the words 'and besides this', following on the statement that he receives the same pay and allowances as the two assistant constables, should logically be followed by a note of additional remuneration or allowances, not of additional duties. No doubt it is this difficulty which induced Hall to suggest that *dicas* (tallies) might be an error for *decimas*, which he proposed to render 'fees'.[9] However, this is certainly not admissible.[10] Round wrote: 'The marshal seems to have had fees in addition (*preter hoc*)'; [11] but this begs the difficulty of the text. Possibly something was omitted in the First Copy, from which both versions were transcribed. Previously both Hall and Round had connected these *dicas* with the *Tallator Regis* in the chamberlain's department [12]; but a tally-cutter for the marshal would come under the constables.

Probably the original function of the marshal was the care

[1] Round, *Feudal England*, p. 487.
[2] *Gesta Stephani* (Rolls Ser.), p. 52.
[3] Round, *Cal. Docs. France*, nos. 1455, 1456; Ord. Vit., iv. 453–4; Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 486–7. See E. B. Powley, *The House of de la Pomerai*, for this family.
[4] Ord. Vit., iv. 453–6; v. 77.
[5] Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp. 124–5.
[6] The *R.B.* interpolates the heading 'De Mareschaucia', which may be disregarded; *cf.* Round, *K.S.*, p. 63.
[7] The *B.B.* reads 'duas' for the first 'dicas', and the *R.B.* reads 'et reges' for 'Regis'.
[8] *Dialogus*, p. 72.
[9] *R.B.*, p. ccc.
[10] Round, *Studies R.B.*, p. 33.
[11] Round, *K.S.*, p. 63.
[12] Hall, in *R.B.*, p. ccc; Round, *Studies R.B.*, p. 33.

of the king's horses, with which the word 'marshal' connects him [1]; and the master marshal was most likely still in immediate charge of the stables under the constables, whose assistant he was both at peace and in war. His other functions, besides keeping the tallies and assisting at the exchequer,[2] included keeping order in the palace and particularly in the hall, guarding the doors, and assigning billets for members of the court or magnates visiting it [3]; although on ordinary occasions the billeting would be carried out by his assistants.[4]

Next come the four marshals who served the king's household, both clerks and knights as well as ministers. On the day on which they assigned billets or were delayed outside the court on the king's business, they received eight pence a day and one gallon of ordinary wine and twelve pieces of candle; if one were sent on the kings business, eightpence only; but *intra domum* only three pence a day for their men and sufficient candles.[5]

The serjeants of the marshals, if they were sent on the king's business, each received three pence a day; otherwise they ate in the household. The rate of three pence may be confirmed by a list of the *dietae* (day's journeys) [6] allowed for carrying writs to the different counties, contained elsewhere in the Red Book, which gives the wage for each *dieta* as three pence.[7]

The ushers took their meals in the household, and those who were themselves knights [8] had three halfpence a day for each of their men and eight pieces of candle. Gilbert Bonhomme and Ranulf (or Ralf) also had three halfpence for their men; the others who were not knights did not receive any other allowance.[9] The usher of the chamber, on each day on

[1] Round, *K.S.*, pp. 84–5, 371; *Complete Peerage*, x, Appendix G, p. 92, note (d), and xi, Appendix E. [2] *Dialogus*, pp. 24, 72.

[3] As at Queen Eleanor's coronation in 1236 (*R.B.*, p. 759).

[4] For an instance under Henry I, see W. Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, i. no. 128; cf. *Complete Peerage*, x, Appendix G, p. 99, note (e).

[5] 'Si intra iii denarios in die hominibus suis in die' (*B.B.*); 'si extra iijd. in die homini suo' (*R.B.*).

[6] Round, *Studies R.B.*, p. 61.

[7] 'Pro qualibet dieta ad brevia portanda iijd.' (*R.B.* pp. 835–7).

[8] 'Hostiarii milites ipsi' (*B.B.*); the *R.B.* reads 'epi' (for 'ipsi'), which Hall took to be an abbreviation of 'episcopi', supposing the 'milites' to be servants of Roger, bishop of Salisbury, at the treasury (*Court Life*, pp. 224, 248; *R.B.*, pp. ccxcii, ccc); but here the *B.B.* is certainly right (*cf.* Round, *Studies R.B.*, pp. 31–2).

[9] 'Gilebertus bonus homo et Ranulfus in domo comedent, et iii ob. hominibus suis. Alii hostiarii non milites in domo comedent sine alia liberacione' (*B.B.*). The *R.B.* copyist has jumped from the first 'commedent' to the second, omitting all intervening words; which has misled Hall (*R.B.*, p. ccc; *cf.* Round, *Studies R.B.*, pp. 31–2). Either Ranulfus (*B.B.*) or Radulfus (*R.B.*) may be right, and there may have been occasional confusion between the names; *cf.* W. H. Stevenson, cited by Round, in *Ancestor*, xii. 53.

which the king made a journey, received four pence for the king's bed. It will be noted that, although the chamber was subject to the master chamberlain, the *hostiarius camerae* was under the master marshal. However, at a coronation, at least in the next century (1236), the chamberlain had the 'custodia camerae et hostii'.[1]

The watchmen had double rations and three halfpence a day for their men and four candles; and besides this in the morning each had two loaves and one dish of meat and one gallon of beer. These *vigiles* are supposed to be watchmen of the treasury by Hall, relying on the inseparable association of watchmen with the safeguard of treasure[2]; but as the treasury was fixed at Winchester, the staff there would not be included in the household. In another connexion Round writes that 'the storage of treasure is always implied by the payment for the light of the night watchman'.[3] These watchmen of the household may accordingly have been employed to safeguard the funds of the *camera curie*; but as they are not entered among the officers of the *camera*, their function may have been to protect the king. When Henry I had been alarmed by the conspiracy headed by one of his chamberlains,[4] it is related that 'sepe nocturno timori vigiles armatos multiplicaret'.[5]

The keeper of the hearth always ate in the household and from Michaelmas to Easter had four pence daily for the fire.[6] The keeper of the tents ate in the household, and when tents had to be carried received allowance for one man and one sumpter horse. As there was only one sumpter horse, the *cortinarius* can only have had to deal with the tents for the king's own use. The fact that he was in the constable's department leaves little doubt that here *cortinas* means only tents, and not also curtains for the king's bed, as suggested by Hearne.

Four hornblowers each had three pence a day, and twenty serjeants each one penny a day. Hearne suggests 'cornets' for 'cornarii', but as in later times a cornet was a junior officer of horse, this might be ambiguous.

The remainder of the *Constitutio* is devoted to the king's sport and records details of the various hounds and their

[1] *R.B.*, p. 759. The usher of the chamber is confused by Tout (*op. cit.*, i. 84) with the bearer of the king's bed.

[2] *R.B.*, p. ccci, referring to the *Dialogus*, p. 65.

[3] Round, *Commune of London*, p. 80, also referring to the *Dialogus*.

[4] Will. Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* (Rolls Ser.), p. 488.

[5] Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi*, ed. A. Molinier, p. 88.

[6] This is the only entry in the *Constitutio* in which the usual 'in die' is replaced by 'cotidie'.

keepers. Some of these entries are obscure and require discussion at a length for which no space is available in this paper; so this part of the constables' department must be left for another occasion.

A Note on the *Constitutio Domus Regis*

It has been assumed in this paper that the extant versions in the Red Book and Black Book were copied, not from the original manuscript, but from an earlier copy, referred to herein as the First Copy. The reason for this assumption is that in certain places both contain a misreading which is not likely to have occurred in the original, and which could not have been made independently by separate copyists. The most convincing of these mistakes is the sentence concerning a certain Ralf de March, which ends the entries of officials of the royal kitchen. This reads: 'Radulfus de Marchia qui Cocus mortuus est ante mortem Regis in domo commedet', which as it stands is nonsense.[1] Other probable instances are:

(1) The inversion of the paragraphs concerned with the stewards and with the master dispenser of the pannetry.
(2) The omission of the ration of wine for William Mauduit.
(3) The probable mistake in the clause relating to the treasurer.
(4) The omission of the rate of pay of William FitzEudes.
(5) The wording of the passage relating to the master marshal.

[1] *R.B.*, p. 810; *B.B.*, p. 348. It may be suggested tentatively that instead of 'mortuus est' we should read 'erat' or 'Regis erat':—'who was the (king's) cook before the king's death'.

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REPORT OF COUNCIL. SESSION 1946–47

THE Council of the Royal Historical Society have the honour of presenting the Annual Report to the Anniversary Meeting as follows :—

At the Anniversary Meeting on 14 December 1946, the Fellows decided to continue to hold the Ordinary Meetings of the Society on Saturday afternoons ; and, since the Society's claim upon the use of the large room on the first floor is limited to Thursdays and to engage it upon Saturdays would in future involve a substantial increase of expenditure, it was agreed that an experiment should be made of holding these Ordinary Meetings in the library, the Anniversary Meeting, only, being held upstairs. These arrangements will accordingly be made for the session 1947–48.

The Council have submitted to the Master of the Rolls a memorandum on the local custody of English records, in which they have set out their views upon the matters raised in the 'Master of the Rolls' Archives Committee ; Final Report' and the 'Proposals for the control of English archives' submitted to him by that committee in October 1946. In 1944 they appointed Professor V. H. Galbraith as their representative at a conference of interested bodies held to consider the sections of the Town and Country Planning Act (1944) which deal with the protection of buildings of architectural and historic interest ; and they have now appointed him as their representative on the Advisory Committee appointed by the Minister of Town and Country Planning to supervise the listing of 'Buildings of special architectural and historic interest'. Sir Charles Webster has been nominated to represent the Society on the National Co-operating Body for the Social Sciences (for the purposes of UNESCO), and Professor W. N. Medlicott as its representative on a committee to advise the publishers upon the future conduct of the *Annual Register*.

Partly as a result of the difficulties which have affected the printing trade like other branches of industry, and partly owing to the delays in obtaining manuscripts, no publication has been issued during this period. The plan of the Council

to issue *Transactions*, Fourth Series, Volume XXIX, early in the year has been frustrated, and the volume was not yet ready for issue at the close of the session. At that date the following volumes were also in the press: the edition of the *Encomium Emmae* by Mr. Alastair Campbell; Volume XVIII of the *Camden Miscellany*, containing 'The Restoration Visitation of Oxford University and its Colleges', edited by Mr. Varley, 'The Benares Diary of Warren Hastings', edited by Mr. Davies, 'Some letters of the Duke of Wellington to his brother, William Wellesley-Pole', edited by Sir Charles Webster; and *The Cartulary of St. Mary Clerkenwell*, edited by Mr. W. O. Hassall. Council have accepted for publication, in addition to the works previously reported, a *Handbook of Oriental History*, to be edited by Professor C. H. Philips, in the series of *Guides and Handbooks*, an edition of *The Letter Books of David Scott*, also by Professor Philips, and an edition of *The Sermons of Thomas Brunton, Bishop of Rochester 1373–1389* by Sister Mary Aquinas Devlin, as well as the edition of *The Cartulary of St. Mary Clerkenwell* by Mr. Hassall.

The manuscript of *Writings on British History 1938* and *1939* has been completed save for the compilation of the indexes.

The Society's stock of the volumes listed in the appendix to this Report is now either exhausted or nearly exhausted, and the Society is thus unable to supply complete sets to libraries which have not hitherto taken its publications. Council would be grateful if any members who no longer need their copies would return them to the Secretary or would give the Society the opportunity of buying them.

The following papers were read during the session 1946–47:—

'The organisation of the Scottish church in the twelfth century.' By Miss M. McC. Morgan. (12 October 1946.)

'The Corporation of Bedford 1647–64.' By C. G. Parsloe. (16 November 1946.)

'Robert Bacon and the early Dominican school at Oxford.' By Miss B. Smalley. (11 January 1947.)

'Parties and party organization in the reign of Charles II.' By Professor A. Browning. (15 February 1947.)

'The development of London as a centre of conspicuous consumption in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.' By F. J. Fisher. (15 March 1947.)

'The inauguration ceremonies of the Yorkist kings and their title to the throne.' By C. A. J. Armstrong. (10 May 1947.)

The President, Professor R. W. Seton-Watson, delivered an address at the Anniversary Meeting on 14 December 1946 on ' Main currents in Russian foreign policy '. The Alexander Medal was awarded to Mrs. June Milne for an essay on ' The diplomacy of Dr. John Robinson, England's accredited representative to the court of Charles XII of Sweden 1697–1709, with particular reference to his contribution to Allied victory in the war of the Spanish Succession '. The essay was read on 14 June 1947. The annual garden party was held on 8 July 1947.

At the Anniversary Meeting held on 14 December 1946, Professor C. W. Previté-Orton and Professor A. Hamilton Thompson were elected Honorary Vice-Presidents. The Vice-Presidents retiring under By-law XVII were Professor C. W. Previté-Orton and Professor V. H. Galbraith. Miss H. M. Cam and Professor Lillian M. Penson were elected to fill the vacancies. The members of Council retiring under By-law XVII were Mrs. F. M. Stenton, Miss L. S. Sutherland, Professor D. C. Douglas and Professor M. D. Knowles. A further vacancy was caused by the expiration of the term of office of Miss K. Major, co-opted by Council in March 1946, under By-law XIX, to supply the vacancy caused by the resignation of Dr. W. P. Morrell. Professor T. S. Ashton, Professor R. R. Betts, Miss K. Major, W. A. Pantin and A. L. Poole were elected to fill the vacancies. Messrs. C. Ryland Beeby & Co. were appointed auditors for the year 1947–48.

Council record with regret the deaths of 26 Fellows and 1 Corresponding Member; amongst these, Council would mention specially Professor Z. N. Brooke, a Member of Council from 1927 to 1930 and from 1931 to 1934, and a Vice-President from 1940 to 1942; Sir Geoffrey Callender, a Member of Council from 1926 to 1928, from 1929 to 1932, and from 1933 to 1936; Professor E. P. Cheyney, a Corresponding Member from 1935 until his death; Professor H. H. Dodwell, a Member of Council from 1933 to 1936; Sir John Lloyd, a Corresponding Member from 1921 until his death, and an Honorary Vice-President from 1933 until his death; Professor C. W. Previté-Orton, a Member of Council from 1927 to 1931, from 1932 to 1936 and from 1938 to 1942, a Vice-President from 1943 to 1946, and an Honorary Vice-President from 1946 until his death; and Sir Herbert Richmond, a Vice-President from 1939 to 1942. 7 Fellows

and 2 Associates have resigned and 2 libraries have ceased to be Subscribing Libraries. 26 Fellows and 7 Associates have been elected and 5 libraries have been admitted as Subscribing Libraries. 1 Fellow has been re-elected and 2 have been re-instated. 5 Associates have been elected to the Fellowship. The membership of the Society on 30 June 1947 was 751 Ordinary Fellows, 1 Honorary Fellow, 26 Corresponding Members and 56 Associates; of the Fellows, 177 were Life Members. The Subscribing Libraries numbered 322. 25 Societies, British and foreign, exchanged their publications with those of the Royal Historical Society.

The Treasurer reports that the income of the year from 1 July 1946 to 30 June 1947 exceeded the expenditure chargeable against it by £231 15*s.* 7*d.* This surplus has been allocated as to £230 0*s.* 0*d.* to Publications, and as to £1 15*s.* 7*d.* to the General Income and Expenditure Account. The sum of £1,030 0*s.* 0*d.* has thus been granted for Publications, as against £1,050 0*s.* 0*d.* in the previous year, making, with the addition of the proceeds of sales, an allocation to the Publication Fund of £1,266 14*s.* 9*d.*

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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Dr. Cr.

Expenditure.			£ s. d.
To Establishment Expenses :—			
Rent—96, Cheyne Walk	£216 16 0		
Rent—Warehousing of Stock	19 10 0		
Rates	59 9 9		
Fire Insurance, less Commission	20 13 1		
Repairs	12 15 6		
Electric Fire	10 10 0		
Wages	52 0 0		
Extra Service and Cleaning	18 14 4		
Lighting and Heating	39 8 7		
National Insurance	9 2 10		
Workmen's Compensation Insurance	1 19 8		
Monthly Meetings, etc., Refreshments	25 5 0		
			486 4 9
„ Secretarial and Administrative Expenses :—			
Salary	400 0 0		
Superannuation	74 12 6		
Clerk's Salary (Part)	120 11 3		
General Printing and Stationery	190 12 8		
Accountancy and Audit	34 13 0		
Postages	41 12 3		
Telephone	13 0 9		
Sundries	18 10 10		
Expenditure on Office Equipment, less sales (including provision for equipment on order)	115 19 8		
			1,009 12 11
„ Library :—			
Grant			100 0 0
„ Other Charges :—			
Friends of National Libraries	1 1 0		
British Records Association	1 0 0		
British National Committee of the International Congress of Historical Sciences	15 15 0		
			17 16 0
„ Publications :—			
Director's Honorarium	180 0 0		
Clerk's Salary (Part)	40 3 9		
Other Secretarial Expenses	29 2 5		
Grant for Publications	£800 0 0		
Proceeds from Sales	236 14 9		
	1,036 14 9		
			1,286 0 11
„ Balance, being Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year transferred :—			
(*a*) as a further Grant for Publications	230 0 0		
(*b*) to General Income and Expenditure Account	1 15 7		
			231 15 7

Income.			£ s. d.
By Arrears of Subscriptions			159 12 0
„ Subscriptions received for 1947 :—			
54 Associates at 21s.	£56 14 0		
249 Libraries at 30s.	373 10 0		
517 Fellows at 42s.	1,085 14 0		
		1,515 18 0	
„ Life Subscriptions	227 17 0		
Less Proportion required by By-law IX to be invested (see Balance Sheet)	136 18 0		
		90 19 0	
„ Proceeds from Sale of Publications			236 14 9
„ Dividends on Investments—Gross			302 3 11
„ Interest on Deposit Account at Bank			3 6 5
„ Interest on Post Office Savings Bank Account			25 11 0
„ The Sir George W. Prothero Bequest :—			
Dividends on Investments and Tax recovered	784 2 2		
Royalties	13 2 11		
		797 5 1	

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

II.—Publications Account for the Year ended 30 June, 1947.

Dr.	£ s. d.	Cr.	£ s. d.
To Payments made during the Year:—		By Balance of Allocations at 30 June, 1946, Brought Forward	3,416 15 3
Transactions, Vol. XXVIII (balance of cost)	121 14 8	„ Allocation for Publications, 1946–47:—	
Purchase of volumes to replace Stock	1 5 7	Grants £1,030 0 0	
Sundry Postages, Packing and Expenses	16 15 11	Proceeds of Sales 236 14 9	
	139 16 2	(As per Income and Expenditure Account)	1,266 14 9
Balance of Allocations at 30 June, 1947, Carried Forward	4,543 13 10		
	£4,683 10 0		£4,683 10 0

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

III.—Balance Sheet as at 30 June, 1947.

Liabilities.			£ s. d.
Life Subscriptions required to be invested as Capital Account (By-law IX) :—			
Amount brought forward from last Balance Sheet	£2,222 12 0		
Add Proportion of Life Subscriptions received in 1947 (see Income and Expenditure Account)	136 18 0		
	2,359 10 0		
Less Amount transferred to General Income and Expenditure Account	130 14 0		
		2,228 16 0	
Publications Reserve Fund :—			
Balance from last Account	1,380 0 0		
Less Payments for temporary assistance in the compilation of "Writings"	231 11 6		
		1,148 8 6	
Lease Renewal Fund :—			
Balance from last Account		112 0 4	
Fund in Aid of Pensions :—			
Balance from last Account	2,106 4 6		
Less Payment to Miss M. B. Curran	200 0 0		
		1,906 4 6	
Publications Account :—			
Balance of Allocations at 30 June, 1947		4,543 13 10	
Library Account :—			
Balance from last Account	202 7 7		
Grant for the year	100 0 0		
Receipts from sales of books withdrawn	11 14 6		
	314 2 1		
Less Expenditure during year	110 14 10		
		203 7 3	

Assets.			£ s. d.
Investments, viz. :—			
£699 9s. 9d. Consols 2½%, valued in 1920 at	£314 0 0		
£1,177 19s. Consols 2½% at cost	1,144 19 6		
£4,052 12s. 4d. Conversion Stock 3½% at cost	3,638 11 0		
£1,000 Defence Bonds 3% at cost	1,000 0 0		
500 National Savings Certificates at cost	400 0 0		
£250 Savings Bonds 3% 1960/70, at cost	250 0 0		
£2,606 5s. 2d. Treasury Stock 2½% 1975	2,606 5 2		
		9,353 15 8	
(Market Value at 30 June, 1947, £10,212 6s. 5d.)			
Cash at Bank : Current Accounts	1,863 12 4		
Deposit Account	753 15 0		
P.O. Savings Bank	1,048 9 4		
„ in Hand	3 11 8		
		3,669 8 4	
Income Tax Repayment due (since paid)		209 10 10	
Stock of Publications :—			
Book value		600 0 0	
Library :—			
Book value		1,000 0 0	
Furniture, Etc. :—			
Book value		300 0 0	
Subscriptions in Arrear estimated to be received		35 0 0	

Brought forward			£10,142 10 5
SUNDRY CREDITORS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED IN ADVANCE			128 11 3
THE SIR GEORGE W. PROTHERO BEQUEST:—			
Balance from last Account	22,300 11 7		
Add Profit on redemption of Investments	64 0 4		
		22,364 11 11	
"WRITINGS ON BRITISH HISTORY": PRODUCTION ACCOUNT:—			
Balance from last Account		900 0 0	
GENERAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT:—			
Balance of accumulated income at 30 June, 1946	3,790 0 4		
Add Amount transferred from Life Subscription Account	130 14 0		
Profit on redemption of Investments	74 3 3		
Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year as per Account I	1 15 7		
		3,996 13 2	
		£37,532 6 9	

Brought forward			£15,167 14 10
THE SIR GEORGE W. PROTHERO BEQUEST:—			
Investments (Market Value at 30 June, 1947, £22,801 7*s.* 8*d.*)		22,364 11 11	
		£37,532 6 9	

We have examined the foregoing Income and Expenditure Account and Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Society. We have verified the Investments appearing in the Balance Sheet. We report that the above Balance Sheet is, in our opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the affairs of the Society, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the books of the Society.

C. RYLAND BEEBY & CO.,
Chartered Accountants, Auditors.

LONDON AND SLOUGH.
24 *September*, 1947.

THE DAVID BERRY TRUST.

Income and Expenditure Account for the Year ended 30 *June*, 1947.

DR. CR.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, 30 June, 1946, brought forward from last Account, viz. :—						
Cash at Bank—Current Account . .	86	18	2			
„ „ Deposit Account . .	21	9	3			
„ in hand	1	0	2			
£300 3% Defence Bonds (at cost) . .	300	0	0			
				409	7	7
„ Dividends on Investments per Charity Commissioners .				37	11	3
„ Interest on £300 3% Defence Bonds . . .				9	0	0
„ Interest on Deposit Account at Bank . . .					2	1
				£456	0	11

Payments.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Printing and Postages				2	9	2
„ Advertising				40	4	6
„ Examiners' Fees				31	10	0
„ Balance in hand, 30 June, 1947, carried forward, viz. :—						
Cash at Bank : Current Account . .	£58	7	2			
„ „ Deposit Account . .	21	11	4			
„ in Hand	1	18	9			
£300 3% Defence Bonds (at cost) . .	300	0	0			
				381	17	3
				£456	0	11

The late David Berry, by his Will dated the 23rd day of April, 1926, left £1,000 to provide in every third year a gold medal and prize money for the best essay on the Earl of Bothwell or, at the discretion of the Trustee, on Scottish History of the James Stuarts I to VI, in memory of his father, the late Rev. David Berry.

The Trust is now regulated by a Scheme sanctioned by the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice dated the 23rd day of January, 1930, and made in an Action 1927.A.1233 David Anderson Berry, decd., Hunter and another v. Robertson and another.

This Society is now the Trustee, and the investments held on Capital Account consist of £634 17*s.* 2*d.* 3½% Conversion Stock and £540 13*s.* 2*d.* Treasury Stock 2½% 1975.

The Trustee will in every second year of the three-year period advertise in *The Times* inviting essays.

We have examined the above account and find it correct.

C. RYLAND BEEBY & Co.,
Chartered Accountants,
Auditors.

LONDON AND SLOUGH.
24 *September*, 1946.

ALEXANDER PRIZE

The Alexander Prize was established in 1897 by L. C. Alexander, F.R.Hist.S. It consists of a Silver Medal awarded annually for an essay upon some historical subject. Candidates may select their own subject provided such subject has been previously submitted to and approved by the Literary Director. The essay must be a genuine work of original research, not hitherto published, and one which has not been awarded any other prize. It must not exceed 6,000 words in length and must be sent in on or before 28 February 1948.

LIST OF ALEXANDER PRIZE ESSAYISTS (1898–1947)[1]

1898. F. Hermia Durham (" The Relations of the Crown to Trade under James I ").

1899. W. F. Lord, B.A. (" The Development of Political Parties in the reign of Queen Anne ").

1901. Laura M. Roberts (" The Peace of Lunéville ").

1902. V. B. Redstone (" The Social Condition of England during the Wars of the Roses ").

1903. Rose Graham (" The Intellectual Influence of English Monasticism between the tenth and twelfth centuries ").

1904. Enid W. G. Routh (" The Balance of Power in the Seventeenth Century ").

1905. W. A. P. Mason, M.A. (" The Beginnings of the Cistercian Order ").

1906. Rachel R. Reid, M.A. (" The Rebellion of the Earls, 1569 ").

1908. Kate Hotblack (" The Peace of Paris, 1763 ").

1909. Nellie Nield, M.A. (" The Social and Economic Condition of the Unfree Classes in England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries ").

[1] No award was made in 1900, 1907, 1910, 1911, 1913, 1914, 1921, 1946. The prize Essays for 1909 and 1919 were not published in the *Transactions*. No Essays were submitted in 1915, 1916 and 1943.

1912. H. G. Richardson (" The Parish Clergy of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries ").
1917. Isobel D. Thornley, B.A. (" The Treason Legislation of 1531–1534 ").
1918. T. F. T. Plucknett, B.A. (" The Place of the Council in the Fifteenth Century ").
1919. Edna F. White, M.A. (" The Jurisdiction of the Privy Council under the Tudors ").
1920. J. E. Neale, M.A. (" The Commons Journals of the Tudor Period ").
1922. C. E. Martin (" The English Establishments on the Gold Coast in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century ").
1923. E. W. Hensman, M.A. (" The Civil War of 1648 in the East Midlands ").
1924. Grace Stretton, B.A. (" Some Aspects of Mediæval Travel ").
1925. F. A. Mace, M.A. (" Devonshire Ports in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries ").
1926. Marian J. Tooley, M.A. (" The Authorship of the *Defensor Pacis* ").
1927. W. A. Pantin, B.A. (" Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215–1540 ").
1928. Gladys A. Thornton, B.A., Ph.D. (" A Study in the History of Clare, Suffolk, with special reference to its development as a Borough ").
1929. F. S. Rodkey, A.M., Ph.D. (" Lord Palmerston's Policy for the Re-juvenation of Turkey, 1839–47 ").
1930. A. A. Ettinger, D.Phil. (" The Proposed Anglo-Franco-American Treaty of 1852 to guarantee Cuba to Spain ").
1931. Kathleen A. Walpole, M.A. (" The Humanitarian Movement of the Early Nineteenth Century to Remedy Abuses on Emigrant Vessels to America ").
1932. Dorothy M. Brodie, B.A. (" Edmund Dudley, Minister of Henry VII ").
1933. R. W. Southern, B.A. (" Ranulf Flambard and Early Anglo-Norman Administration ").
1934. S. B. Chrimes, M.A., Ph.D. (" Sir John Fortescue and his Theory of Dominion ").
1935. S. T. Bindoff, M.A. (" The Unreformed Diplomatic Service, 1812–60 ").
1936. Rosamond J. Mitchell, M.A., B.Litt. (" English Students at Padua, 1460–1475 ").
1937. C. H. Philips, B.A. (" The East India Company ' Interest,' and the English Government, 1783–4 ").
1938. H. E. I. Phillips, B.A. (" The Last Years of the Court of Star Chamber, 1630–41 ").

1939. Hilda P. Grieve, B.A. ("The Deprived Married Clergy in Essex, 1553–61").
1940. R. Somerville, M.A. ("The Duchy of Lancaster Council and Court of Duchy Chamber").
1941. R. A. L. Smith, M.A., Ph.D. ("The *Regimen Scaccarii* in English Monasteries").
1942. F. L. Carsten, D.Phil. ("Medieval Democracy in the Brandenburg Towns and its Defeat in the Fifteenth Century").
1944. Rev. E. W. Kemp, B.D. ("Pope Alexander III and the Canonization of Saints").
1945. Helen Suggett, B.Litt. ("The use of French in England in the later Middle Ages").
1947. Mrs. June Milne, B.A. ("The Diplomacy of Dr. John Robinson at the Court of Charles XII of Sweden, 1697–1709").

DAVID BERRY PRIZE

The David Berry Prize was established in 1929 by David Anderson-Berry in memory of his father, the Reverend David Berry. It consists of a Gold Medal and Money Prize awarded every three years for Scottish History. Candidates may select any subject dealing with Scottish History within the reigns of James I to James VI inclusive, provided such subject has been previously submitted to and approved by the Council of the Royal Historical Society. The Essay must be a genuine work of original research not hitherto published, and one which has not been awarded any other prize. There is no limit to the length of the Essay. It must be sent in on or before October 31, 1949.

LIST OF DAVID BERRY PRIZE ESSAYISTS (1937–1943) [1]

1937. G. Donaldson, M.A. ("The Polity of the Scottish Reformed Church *c.* 1560–1580, on the Rise of the Presbyterian Movement").
1943. Rev. Prof. A. F. Scott Pearson, D.Th., D.Litt. ("Anglo-Scottish Religious Relations, 1400–1600").

[1] No Essays were submitted in 1940. No award was made in 1946.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER.)

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* Bracey, The Very Rev. R., St. Dominic's Priory, Carisbrooke, I.W.

* Bradbeer, H., Lynthorne, Barnfield Road, Exeter.
* Bradley, P. Brendan, M.A., D.Litt., 4 Greystone Gardens, Northwick Circle, Kenton, Middlesex.
Bradyll-Johnson, Rev. L., M.A., D.D., 6 Park Lane, Milford-on-Sea, Hants.
* Brebner, Professor J.B., M.A., B.Litt., Ph.D., Columbia University, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.
Bridge, J. S. C., Cookley House, Henley-on-Thames.
Briers, Miss P. M., B.A., B.Litt., 201 Frobisher House, Dolphin Square, S.W.1.
Brinkworth, E. R. C., Bibury, Horton View, Banbury, Oxon.
Brinton, Professor Crane, B.A., D.Phil., J24 Dunster House, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Brodie, Miss D. M., B.A., Ph.D., Newnham College, Cambridge.
Brogan, Professor D. W., M.A., LL.D., Peterhouse, Cambridge.
Brooks, F. W., M.A., University College, Hull.
Broome, Miss D. M., Ph.D., 37 Ashburn Road, Stockport.
Brown, B. Goulding, M.A., 16 Brookside, Cambridge.
Brown, Rev. C. K. F., M.A., B.Litt., East Clandon Rectory, Surrey.
* Brown, Professor Louise F., Ph.D., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., U.S.A.
Brown, W. E., M.A., B.Sc., 53 South Park Avenue, Glasgow.
Browning, Professor A., M.A., D.Litt., Westdel, Queen's Place, Glasgow, W.2.
Bryant, A. W. M., M.A., Rapsgate, Cirencester, Glos.
Buckler, Professor F. W., M.A., The Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio, U.S.A.
Bueno de Mesquita, D. M., M.A., Ph.D., 9 Broadway West, Gosforth, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 3.
Bullock, Brigadier H., O.B.E., 46 Pulteney Street, Bath.
Burleigh, Rev. Professor J. H. S., B.D., The University, Edinburgh, 10.
Burman, J., Greenfields, Hampton Lane, Solihull, Warwickshire.
Burn, Professor W. L., M.A., King's College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Bury, J. P. T., M.A., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
* Busher, Rev. T. Story, D.D., M.A., The Rectory, Charlton-on-Otmoor, Oxford.
Butler, H. M., M.A., Queen Mary's School, Walsall.
Butler, J. R. M., M.V.O., O.B.E., M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Butler, Wilson, M.A., LL.M., Glebelands, Broughton-in-Furness.
Butterfield, Mrs., M.A., c/o 324 Scollard Building, Victoria, B.C., Canada.
Butterfield, Professor H., M.A., Peterhouse, Cambridge.

Callus, The Very Rev. D. A., O.P., S.T.M., D.Phil., Blackfriars, Oxford.
* Cam, Miss H. M., M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., Girton College, Cambridge.
Cameron, Miss J., B.A., 101 Keyes House, Dolphin Square, S.W.1.
Cammaerts, Professor Emile, Quadrant House, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
Campbell, A., B.A., B.Litt., 11 Marston Ferry Road, Oxford.
* Campbell, Miss A. M., A.M., Ph.D., New Jersey College for Women, New Brunswick, N.J., U.S.A.
Campbell, Miss Sybil, M.A., 2 Brick Court, Temple, E.C.4.

* Carlyle, E. I., M.A., 26 Bardwell Road, Oxford.
Carrier, Miss E. H., M.A., M.Sc., Avery Hill College, Eltham, S.E.9.
Carruthers, Mrs. James, C.H., 8 Gower Street, W.C.1.
Carter, Mrs., M.A., 34 Woodmansterne Road, Carshalton, Surrey.
* Carter, Rev. C. S., D.D., 2 Alma Road, Bristol 8.
Cartlidge, Rev. J. E. G., The Vicarage, Ford, Shrewsbury.
* Carus-Wilson, Miss E. M., M.A., 14 Lansdowne Road, W.11.
* Cecil, Algernon, M.A., Travellers Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
Chacko, C. J., M.A., Ph.D., Ewing Hall, Forman Christian College, Lahore, Punjab, India.
Chandra, Professor P., M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Victoria College, Gwalior, India.
* Charleston, Lektor S. J., M.A., Handelshögskolan, Sveavägen 65, Stockholm, Sweden.
* Chart, D. A., I.S.O., Litt.D., 29 Cambourne Park, Upper Malone, Belfast.
Cheney, A. H., 27 Serpentine Road, Sevenoaks.
* Cheney, Professor C. R., M.A., 21 Rathen Road, Withington, Manchester, 20.
Chew, Miss H. M., M.A., Ph.D., 12 Upper Cheyne Row, S.W.3.
Chibnall, Mrs. A. C., Madingley Rise, Madingley Road, Cambridge.
Chitty, Herbert, M.A., F.S.A., 26 Ladbroke Square, W.11.
Chrimes, S. B., M.A., Ph.D., The University, Glasgow.
* Christie, Mrs., The Pound House, Cropthorne, Pershore, Worcs.
Church, Rev. L. F., B.A., Ph.D., Wiston, 45 Homefield Road, Worthing, Sussex.
Churchill, Miss I. J., D.Phil., F.S.A., 22 May's Hill Road, Shortlands, Kent.
Churchill, The Right Hon. Winston S., O.M., C.H., M.P., F.R.S., 28 Hyde Park Gate, S.W.7.
Clark, A. E., M.A., 96 Sutton Road, Walsall, Staffs.
Clark, C. Upson, Ph.D., North Hatley, Quebec, Canada.
Clark, G. N., LL.D., Lit.D., F.B.A., The Provost's Lodgings, Oriel College, Oxford.
Clark, G. S. R. Kitson, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Clark, Rev. Henry W., D.D., The Harpes, Broxbourne, Herts.
Clarke, F., M.A., Queen Mary College, Mile End Road, E.1.
* Clay, C. T., C.B., M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A., 11 Tite Street, S.W.3.
Clay, Miss R. M., Ilex Cottage, Shirehampton, Bristol.
Clegg, Mrs., B.A., Branscombe, Avondale Road, Heavitree, Exeter.
Clements, E. E., 27 Rivers Street, Bath.
Coate, Miss M., M.A., F.S.A., Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.
Cobban, A. B. C., M.A., Ph.D., 11 Westbourne Park Road, W.2.
* Code, Rev. Joseph B., M.A., S.T.B., Sc.Hist.D., Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
Colby, Professor C. W., M.A., Ph.D., 1240 Pine Avenue West, Montreal, Canada.
* Colgrave, B., M.A., F.S.A., 56 South Street, Durham.
Collins, Professor Ross W., M.A., B.D., Ph.D., University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.
Congreve, A. L., M.A., F.S.A., Kirmington, Cranbrook, Kent.
Cooper, W., F.S.A., 1 Lulworth Court, Leamington Spa.

Corson, J. C., M.A. Ph.D., 2 Wardie Avenue, Edinburgh, 5.
Coupland, Professor Sir Reginald, K.C.M.G., M.A., Wootton Hill, nr. Oxford.
Court, W. H. B., M.A., A.M., The University, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
* Crawley, C. W., M.A., Trinity Hall, Cambridge.
Cronne, Professor H. A., M.A., The University, Edmund St., Birmingham, 3.
Crowe, Miss S. E., M.A., Ph.D., St. Hilda's College, Oxford.
Cunningham, Miss A., M.A., 15 Murrayfield Gardens, Edinburgh.
* Curran, Miss M. B., M.A., 35 Buckingham Court, Kensington Park Road, W.11.
*Cuttino, G. P., D.Phil., Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Penn., U.S.A.

Dakin, D., M.A., Ph.D., 32A Glazebury Road, W.14.
Darlington, Professor R. R., B.A., Ph.D., Birkbeck College, Bream's Buildings, Fetter Lane, E.C.4.
* Darwin, F. D. S., M.A., 86A Banbury Road, Oxford.
Das, Harihar, B.Litt., 73 Walton Street, Oxford.
Davies, Miss A. F., M.A., 5 Belbroughton Road, Oxford.
Davies, C. C., M.A., Ph.D., 100 Divinity Road, Oxford.
* Davies, G., M.A., Huntington Library, San Marino, Cal., U.S.A.
Davies, Rev. R. T., M.A., 101 Iffley Road, Oxford.
Davies, W. T., B.A., Glanwern, Clasemont, Morriston, Swansea.
Dawes, M. C. B., B.A., F.S.A., 22 Jennings Road, St. Albans, Herts.
Dawson, Christopher, M.A., Hartlington Hall, Skipton, Yorks.
* Day, P. W., M.A., 2 Rectory Terrace, Gosforth, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Day, W. I. Leeson, F.S.A., 2 Tresilian Gardens, Topsham, Devon.
Deanesly, Professor Margaret, M.A., Royal Holloway College, Englefield Green, Surrey.
* Deeley, Miss A. P., M.A., Queen Mary College, Mile End Road, E.1.
Denholm-Young, N., M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford.
Dennett, J., F.S.A., York Lodge, Beverley, E. Yorks.
* Denny, L. R. R., M.A., 28 St. Andrew's Terrace, Strowan, Christchurch, New Zealand.
Dewar, Captain A. C., O.B.E., B.Litt., R.N., Junior Army and Navy Club, Horseguards' Avenue, Whitehall, S.W.1.
Dickens, A. G., M.A., Keble College, Oxford.
Dickins, Professor Bruce, M.A., 7 Selwyn Gardens, Cambridge.
Dickinson, J. C., M.A., B.Litt., The Mount, Cark-in-Cartmel, N. Lancs.
Dilks, T. B., B.A., East Gate, Bridgwater.
Dodd, Professor A. H., M.A., 12 Menai View Terrace, Upper Bangor.
* Dodwell, Miss B., M.A., The University, Reading.
Donaldson, G., M.A., Ph.D., 24 East Hermitage Place, Edinburgh, 6.
* Donaldson-Hudson, Miss R., B.A., Cheswardine, Market Drayton, Salop.
Dorling, Captain H. T., D.S.O., R.N. (retired), 97 Rivermead Court, Hurlingham, S.W.6.
Dormer, E. W., 29 Church Road, Earley, Reading.
Douglas, Professor D. C., M.A., 4 Henleaze Gardens, Bristol.
Douie, Miss D. L., B.A., Ph.D., University College, Hull.
Drew, C. E. S., B.Litt., 197 Sheen Lane, S.W.14.

Duncalf, Professor F. I., Ph.D., University of Texas, Austin, Texas, U.S.A.
Dunlop, Mrs., M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Dunselma, Fenwick, Ayrshire.
Durham, The Right Rev. the Bishop of, M.A., D.D., Auckland Castle, Bishop Auckland, Co. Durham.
Dyer, Miss F. E., 147 Jerningham Road, New Cross, S.E.14.

Eardley-Simpson, L. E., M.A., LL.B., Windley Lodge, Turnditch, nr. Derby.
Edmond, Miss D., B.Sc., 45 Hepworth Road, S.W.16.
Edwards, J. G., M.A., F.B.A., Jesus College, Oxford.
Edwards, Miss K., M.A., Ph.D., 14 Emsworth Road, Barkingside, Ilford, Essex.
Edwards, Professor R. W. D., M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., 31 Castle Avenue, Clontarf, Dublin.
Edwards, Major T. J., Somli, Summer Road, Thames Ditton, Surrey.
* Edwards-Rees, Miss D. M. M., M.A., 6 Hillylaid Road, Thornton-le-Fylde, nr. Blackpool.
Eeles, F. C., D.Litt., F.S.A. Scot., Earlham, Dunster, Somerset.
Elliott, C. A., M.A., The Cloisters, Eton College, Windsor.
* Elliott-Binns, Rev. Canon L. E., M.A., D.D., Frere House, Kenwyn, Truro.
Ellis, C., M.A., 43 Iverna Gardens, W.8.
Ellis, Miss M. F. H., Little Dean, Glos.
Ely, The Right Rev. the Bishop of, M.A., D.D., The Bishop's House, Ely, Cambs.
* Emmison, F. G., Essex Record Office, County Hall, Chelmsford.
d'Entrèves, Professor A. P., D.Phil., 13 Charlbury Road, Oxford.
* Ettinger, A. A., M.A., D.Phil., Litt.D., 1011 Highland Avenue, Bethlehem, Pa., U.S.A.
Evans, D. L., B.A., B.Litt., Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
Evans, Miss E., M.A., B.Litt., Somerville College, Oxford.
Evans, Miss Joan, D.Litt., F.S.A., Thousand Acres, Wootton-under-Edge, Glos.
Evans, Rev. J. H., B.A., Sunnyside, Lambley, Notts.
Evans, Ven. Archdeacon Seiriol J. A., M.A., F.S.A., Christchurch Rectory, nr. Wisbech, Cambs.
Evans, T., M.A., County School, Cardigan.
Evennett, H. O., M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.

* Farquhar, Miss Helen, 6 Lowndes Street, S.W.1.
Farran, Professor A. C., M.A., Kharnatak College, Dharwar, India.
* Fawcett, Sir Charles, I.C.S. (retired), 13 Staverton Road, Oxford.
* Fay, C. R., M.A., Christ's College, Cambridge.
Fay, Professor S. B., Ph.D., 194 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Feavearyear, A. E., D.Sc., Bushley, Willow Grove, Chislehurst, Kent.
Finberg, H. P. R., M.A., 34 Sheffield Terrace, W.8.
Fisher, F. J., M.A., London School of Economics, Houghton Street, W.C.2.
* Fletcher, Rev. A. W., M.A., LL.B., F.S.A., Lyndhurst, 107 Radbourne Street, Derby.
* Fletcher, E. G. M., B.A., LL.D., 9 Robin Grove, N.6.

FLOWER, Sir Cyril T., C.B., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A., 2 Lammas Park Gardens, W.5.
Fordham, M. E., M.A., The Severals, Seer Green, Beaconsfield.
Forrester, E. G., M.A., B.Litt., 24 High Street, Brackley, Northants.
* Fountaine, Mrs. R. W., Pollicott, Ashendon, Aylesbury, Bucks.
Fox, L., M.A., 14 Henley Street, Stratford-on-Avon.
Frampton, R., B.A., The Purlieu, West Malvern.
France, R. S., 1 Bank Parade, Preston.
* Freeman, Arnold, M.A., B.Litt., Sheffield Education Settlement, Shipton Street, Sheffield.
* Fryer, Professor C. E., M.A., Ph.D., P.O. Box 421, Santa Barbara, Cal., U.S.A.
Furber, H., M.A., Ph.D., P.O. Box 1726, University Station, Austin, Texas, U.S.A.
Fussell, G. E., 3 Primrose House, Albert Terrace, N.W.1.

Galbraith, Professor V. H., M.A., F.B.A., Oriel College, Oxford.
Gale, W. K. V., 3 Halton Road, Boldmere, Sutton Coldfield, Warw.
Garrett, Miss C. H., M.A., Bardwell Court, 38 St. Margaret's Road, Oxford.
Garside, B., M.A., Falicon, 74 Ormonde Avenue, Hampton-on-Thames.
GEORGE, Mrs., M.A., Litt.D., 51 Paulton's Square, S.W.3.
George, R. H., A.M., Ph.D., Brown University, Providence, R.I., U.S.A.
Geyl, Professor Pieter, Litt.D., Willem Barentzstraat 5, Utrecht, Holland.
* Ghatak, Professor Jyotish Chandra, M.A., 4 Boloram Bose Ghat Road, Bhowanipur, Calcutta, India.
Gill, Professor C., M.A., Litt.D., Chestnut Lodge, Cottingham, E. Yorks.
Gipson, Professor L. H., Ph.D., Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa., U.S.A.
* GIUSEPPI, M. S., I.S.O., F.S.A., 72 Burlington Avenue, Kew Gardens, Surrey.
Gnana Viran, S. S. [Address unknown].
* Godber, Miss A. J., B.A., Willington Manor, Bedford.
Godley, The Hon. Eveline, Durrant's Court, High Halden, Kent.
Goldingham, Major C. S., Manor Farm, Horsenden, Aylesbury, Bucks.
Goldthorp, L. M., M.A., 27 Central Street, Hebden Bridge, Yorks.
* GOOCH, G. P., C.H., M.A., Litt.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., Upway Corner, Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks.
Goodman, Rev. Canon A. W., M.A., B.D., F.S.A., Dormy Cottage, 49 S. Cross Road, Winchester.
Goodman, Paul, 4 Heneage Lane, Bevis Marks, E.C.3.
Goodwin, A., M.A., Jesus College, Oxford.
Grace, W. F. F., M.A., Ph.D., Thornfield, Huyton, nr. Liverpool.
* Graham, G. S., M.A., Ph.D., 46A Porchester Terrace, W.2.
* Graham, Miss Rose, C.B.E., M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A., 29 Ladbroke Grove, W.11.
GRANT, Professor A. J., M.A., Litt.D., 4 Oak Bank, Shaw Lane, Leeds 6.
Greaves, R. W., M.A., D.Phil., Bedford College, Regent's Park, N.W.1.
Green, H., B.A., Lynton, West Waye, Brands Hill, High Wycombe, Bucks.
Green, Rev. V. H. H., M.A., B.D., Sherborne School, Dorset.
Gregory, Miss A. L., M.A., Ph.D., 61 Palatine Road, Withington, Manchester, 20.

GRIERSON, P., M.A., F.S.A. (*Literary Director*), Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
* Grime, Rev. A., M.A., Ph.D., Epworth, 123 Station Road, Kearsley, Bolton, Lancs.
* Grimes, Rev. C. H. D., M.A., The Rectory, Newton Ferrers, S. Devon.
* Griscom, Rev. Acton, M.A. [Address unknown].
Gumbley, Rev. W., O.P., St. Dominic's Priory, Southampton Road, N.W.5.
Gupta, S. N. Das, M.A., Lucknow University, Lucknow, U.P., India.
* Guttridge, Professor G. H., M.A., Department of History, University of California, Berkeley, Cal., U.S.A.
Gwynn, Professor D. R., B.A., D.Litt., 4 Lower Montenotte, Cork.

Habakkuk, H. J., M.A., Pembroke College, Cambridge.
HAKE, Sir Henry M., C.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., National Portrait Gallery, W.C.2.
* Hall, C. S., M.A., Heathfield, 3 Queen's Road, Bradford, Yorks.
Hall, D. G. E., M.A., D.Lit., Caterham School, Surrey.
Hall, I. V., M.A., 88A Henleaze Road, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol, 9.
* Hall, T. W., M.A., F.S.A., 6 Gladstone Road, Sheffield.
Halliday, Sir William R., M.A., LL.D., King's College, Strand, W.C.2.
Hampson, Miss E. M., M.A., Ph.D., King's College, University of Aberdeen.
Hancock, Professor W. K., M.A., All Souls College, Oxford.
Hanson, L. W., M.A., B.Litt., Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Harding, W. G., F.S.A. Scot., Peckwater House, Charing, Kent.
Hardwick, Mrs. R. W., 12 Oakfield Road, Brettell Lane, nr. Stourbridge, Worcs.
Harlow, Professor V. T., M.A., D.Litt., Fir Tree House, Old Marston, Oxford.
Harmer, Miss F. E., M.A., The Victoria University, Manchester, 13.
Haskins, G. L., A.B., LL.B., 42 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
Hasluck, E. L., C.C., M.A., 90 Western Avenue, Herne Bay, Kent.
Hattersley, Professor A. F., M.A., Natal University College, Pietermaritzburg, S. Africa.
* Havinden, Eric, M.A., 30 Park Avenue, Solihull, Warwickshire.
Hay, D., M.A., Department of History, The University, Edinburgh.
Hazeltine, Professor H. D., M.A., F.B.A., Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
* Heathcote, Professor C. W., A.M., Ph.D., State Normal School, 215 South Walnut Street, West Chester, Pa., U.S.A.
Heathcote, J. Clee, Birchover, Matlock, Derbyshire.
Heaton, Professor H., M.A., D.Litt., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
Hedworth-Whitty, R. G., M.A., Ph.D., Thone, Staplegrove Road, Taunton, Som.
Hemleben, S. J., M.A., D.Phil., School of Education, Fordham University, New York City, U.S.A.
Henderson, Professor G. D., D.D., D.Litt., The University, Aberdeen.
Henderson, J. M., M.A., King's College, Aberdeen.
* Henniker-Gotley, Rev. G., M.A., F.S.A., Crockers, South Chailey, Lewes, Sussex.

* Higham, C. S. S., M.A., 97 Church Road, S.W.19.
Hill, J. E. C., M.A., Balliol College, Oxford.
Hill, J. W. F., M.A., LL.M., F.S.A., 2 Lindum Terrace, Lincoln.
Hill, Miss R. M. T., M.A., B.Litt., Westfield College, Hampstead, N.W.3.
Hine, R. L., F.S.A., Willian Bury, Willian, Herts.
Hodges, H. W., M.A., Windmill House, Wingrave, Aylesbury, Bucks.
* Hodgkin, R. H., M.A., F.S.A., Crab Mill, Ilmington, Shipston-on-Stour.
* Hogg, Brigadier O. F. G., C.B.E., F.S.A., 4 Dial Square, Royal Arsenal, Woolwich, S.E.18.
Hoggarth, A. H. G., M.A., Churcher's College, Petersfield.
* Hollingsworth, L. W., B.A., Shambani, Longdown Road, Lower Bourne, Farnham, Surrey.
Holt, Miss A. D., Oakfield, Penny Lane, Liverpool, 15.
Hood, Mrs. Ivo, Sidestrand, Cromer.
* Horn, D. B., M.A., D.Litt., Ettrick, Pentland Avenue, Colinton, Edinburgh.
Horne, Rev. W., 12 Duke's Brow, Blackburn, Lancs.
Hoskins, W. G., M.Sc. (Econ.), Ph.D. University College, Leicester.
Houseman, J. W., M.A., The Grammar School, Hipperholme, Yorks.
* Howard, C. H. D., M.A., Danehurst, Champion Hill, S.E.5.
* Howard-Watson, Captain J. A., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.L., Bella Vista, Nicholas Road, Blundellsands, Liverpool, 23.
Hoyland, J. S., M.A., Holland House, Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham.
Hudson, G. F., M.A., All Souls College, Oxford.
Hughes, Professor E., M.A., The University, Durham.
Hulme, H., Ph.D., New York University, Washington Square East, New York City, U.S.A.
Humphreys, R. A., O.B.E., M.A., Ph.D., 28 Drayton Gardens, S.W.10.
Hurnard, Miss N. D., M.A., D.Phil., Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.
Hurstfield, J., B.A., 7 Glenilla Road, N.W.3.
* Hussey, Miss J. M., M.A., Trinity, Trowbridge, Wilts.
* Hyamson, A. M., O.B.E., 12A Faraday Mansions, Queen's Club Gardens, W.14.
Hyde, F. E. M.A., Ph.D., The University, Liverpool.
* Hyde, Lt.-Col. H. M., M.A., 32 Wilton Place, S.W.1.
* Hyde, J. H., B.A., 18 rue Adolphe Yvon, Paris, XVI^e, France.

* Ilchester, The Right Hon. the Earl of, O.B.E., F.S.A., Holland House, Kensington, W.8.
Insh, G. Pratt, C.B.E., M.A., D.Litt., Ardenvohr, Bothwell, Lanarkshire.

Jackson, H. S., 9 Howden Road, S.E.25.
Jacob, E. F., M.A., D.Phil., F.B.A., F.S.A., All Souls College, Oxford.
Jaffar, Professor S. M., B.A., M.R.A.S., Central Record Office, Peshawar, N.W.F.P., India.
Jalland, Mrs. T. G., M.A., B.Litt., St. Thomas's Vicarage, Oxford.
Jamison, Miss E. M., M.A., F.S.A., 16A The Boltons, S.W.10.

Jarvis, R. C., F.S.A., The Library, Board of Customs and Excise, City-Gate House, E.C.2.
Jedlicki, Professor M. Z. [Address unknown].
Jenkins, Rev. Professor Claude, D.D., F.S.A., Christ Church, Oxford.
Jenkins, Professor R. T., M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A., Rhuddallt, Menai Road, Bangor.
Jenkinson, Hilary, M.A., F.S.A., Arun House, Horsham, Sussex.
* Johnson, C., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A., 13A Downshire Hill, N.W.3.
Johnson, H. C., M.A., Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
Johnson J. H., M.A., Whitehorns, Cedar Avenue, Chelmsford.
Johnston, D. Hope, M.A., J.P., 1A Regent's Court, Hanover Gate, Regent's Park, N.W.1.
Johnston, Lieut.-Col. G. R., R.A., F.R.S.A., 285 Goldhawk Road, W.12.
Johnston, Rev. J. B., M.A., B.D., 63 Cluny Gardens, Edinburgh, 10.
Johnstone, Miss Hilda, M.A., 20 St. Martin's Square, Chichester.
Johnstone, The Ven. Archdeacon S. M., M.A., F.S.A. Scot., Bishopscourt, Greenoaks Avenue, Edgecliff, New South Wales, Australia.
Jolliffe, J. E. A., M.A., Keble College, Oxford.
Jones, Arthur, M.A., 31 West Hill Avenue, Epsom, Surrey.
Jones, A. E., M.A., West View, 28 Westfield Avenue, Newby, Scarborough.
* Jones, G. P., M.A., The University, Sheffield, 10.
Jones, Commander L. P., D.S.O., R.N. (retired), 25 Cadogan Street, S.W.3.
* Jones, Miss M. E. Monckton, M.A., Green Shade, Crowthorne, Berks.
Jones, P. E., LL.B., 18 Wansunt Road, Bexley, Kent.
Jones, Capt. R. W., M.A., Abfallon, Bryneglws, Welshpool.
Jones, Professor T. F., Ph.D., New York University, University Heights, New York City, U.S.A.
Jordan, W. M., M.A., Ph.D., 84 Reid Avenue, Port Washington, Long Island, N.Y., U.S.A.
Judges, A. V., B.A., Oliver House, 53A Strand-on-the-Green, W.4.

* Kay, H., M.A., 15 Acre House Avenue, Lindley, Huddersfield.
Keenleyside, H. Ll., M.A., Ph.D., Canadian Embassy, Mexico City, Mexico.
Kelly, Rev. B. W., Corpus Christi House, 14 Trent Road, S.W.2.
Kelway, Clifton, F.R.G.S., St. Peter's Vicarage, Varna Road, S.W.6.
Kerr, W. B., M.A., Ph.D., University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y., U.S.A.
Ketelbey, Miss D. M., M.A., 5 St. Mary's Place, St. Andrew's, Fife.
Khanna, Kahan Chand, M.A., Ph.D., 19 Ablett Road, Lahore, Punjab, India.
King, Colonel Sir Edwin J., K.C.B., C.M.G., D.L., J.P., M.A., F.S.A., The Old House, East Finchley, N.2.
Kingham, W. R., M.A., Icknield, Pitstone Green, nr. Leighton Buzzard.
Kinloch, Rev. T. F., M.A., Chesterton, Bridgnorth, Salop.
Kirkconnell, Professor Watson, M.A., Ph.D., McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.
* Kirkpatrick, F. A., M.A., c/o Royal Bank of Ireland, College Green, Dublin.
* Kirkus, Miss A. M., M.A., 53 London Road, Reading.
Kitchener, E. E., M.A., 16 Bridhurst Avenue, South Croydon, Surrey.

Klingberg, Professor F. J., A.B., A.M., Ph.D., 405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
Knappen, Major M. M., 945 Manning Avenue, East Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A.
Knight, L. Stanley, M.A., Lewis' School, Pengam, Mon.
* Knowles, Rev. Professor M. D., Litt.D., F.B.A., F.S.A., Peterhouse, Cambridge.
Koeppler, H., Wilton Park, Beaconsfield, Bucks.
Krishnamachari, T. M., H.H. The Maharaja's College, Trivandrum, Travancore, S. India.
Krishnamurti, Raja Karyapravina N. A., Nagamalaya, Karamanai, Travancore, S. India.
Kurat, Professor A. N., D.Phil., Bahçelievler, 24 Sokak No. 15, Ankara, Turkey.

Laistner, Professor M. L. W., M.A., 4 Boardman Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., U.S.A.
* La Monte, Professor J. L., Ph.D., Dept. of History, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
* Langley, Rev. A. S., 327 Golf Estate, Wednesbury.
* Langton, Rev. E., D.D., 11 Henry Street, Brighouse, Yorks.
Laprade, Professor W. T., Ph.D., 1108 Monmouth Avenue, Durham, N. Carolina, U.S.A.
Lapsley, G., M.A., Ph.D., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Lees, R. McLachlan, M.A., Hadlow, Dormans Park, nr. East Grinstead, Sussex.
Leftwich, B. R., M.B.E., F.S.A., 1 The Avenue, Barnet.
Lega-Weekes, Miss Ethel, Varnello, Topsham Road, Exeter.
Legg, L. G. Wickham, M.A., New College, Oxford.
Legge, Miss M. D., M.A., B.Litt., 126 Woodstock Road, Oxford.
Lenanton, Lady, M.A., Bride Hall, nr. Welwyn, Herts.
* Lennard, R. V., M.A., Wadham College, Oxford.
* Leonard, Miss E. M., M.A., 13 Oakwood Court, W.14.
Le Patourel, Professor J. H., M.A., D.Phil., 15 Moor Park Avenue, Leeds 6.
* Lepper, R. S., LL.M., Elsinore, Crawfordsburn, Co. Down.
Letts, Malcolm, F.S.A. (*Hon. Treasurer*), 27 West Heath Drive, N.W.11.
Lewis, Professor M. A., M.A., Royal Naval College, Greenwich, S.E.10.
Lewis, N. B., M.A., Ph.D., 4 Leyfield Road, Dore, Sheffield.
Leys, Mrs. J. A., M.A., B.Litt., Hillcrest, Ware Lane, Lyme Regis, Dorset.
Leys, Mrs. K. K. M., M.A., St. Hilda's College, Oxford.
Lhoyd-Owen, Lieut.-Commander J. H., R.N., Historical Section, Room 430, 4th Floor, Abbey House, Victoria Street, S.W.1.
* Lipson, E., M.A., New College, Oxford.
* Littler, Rev. Canon H. D., M.A., The Old Deanery, Warwick.
Lloyd, H. I., O.B.E., M.A., New Court, Temple, E.C.4.
Lobel, Mrs., B.A., 16 Merton Street, Oxford.
Lockitt, C. H., M.A., Easedown, Kingstouridge, Lewes.
Longrais, Professor F. Joüon des, D.-en-droit, L.-ès-L., 4 rue de la Terrasse, Paris XVII, France.
Lovegrove, E. W., M.A., F.S.A., Common Hill Farm, Fownhope, Hereford.

Lumb, Miss S. V., M.A., St. Anne's Diocesan College for Girls, Hilton Road, Natal, S. Africa.
Lunt, Professor W. E., Ph.D., Haverford College, Haverford, Pa., U.S.A.
* Lybyer, Professor A. H., A.M., Ph.D., 1006 West Nevada Street, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
Lydekker, J. W., M.A., F.S.A., Toll Gate, High Street, Harpenden, Herts.
Lyell, James P. R., J.P., B.Litt., The Knowl, Abingdon, Berks.

Macalister, Professor R. A. S., Litt.D., F.S.A., Barrmore, Lady Margaret Road, Cambridge.
McCoy, C., 39 Pope's Grove, Twickenham, Middlesex.
Macdonald, N., A.B., A.M., Ph.D., McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.
McElroy, Professor R., M.A., LL.D., Ph.D., Princeton University, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A.
McFarlane, K. B., M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford.
McIlwain, Professor C. H., LL.D., Ph.D., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
MacInnes, Professor C. M., M.A., The University, Bristol, 8.
McKay, D. C., A.B., M.A., Ph.D., 24 Highland Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
* Mackie, Professor J. D., C.B.E., M.C., M.A., F.S.A. Scot., 9 The University, Glasgow, W.2.
McKisack, Miss May, M.A., B.Litt., Somerville College, Oxford.
McLachlan, Rev. H., M.A., D.D., Litt.D., 11 Sydenham Avenue, Liverpool, 17.
* McLachlan, Miss J. O., M.A., Ph.D., 6G Montagu Mansions, York Street, W.1.
McMaster, Mrs. Ian, M.A., 25 Park Town, Oxford.
McNamara, W. H., 29 Campbell Road, E.17.
McNulty, Rev. J., B.A., St. Marie's, Seabank Road, Southport, Lancs.
Mainwaring, J., M.A., D.Litt., Lingwood, St. James' Road, Dudley.
* Major, Miss K., M.A., B.Litt., F.S.A., 21 Queensway, Lincoln.
Malden, The Very Rev. R. H., M.A., B.D., The Deanery, Wells.
Marshall, Miss D., M.A., Ph.D., University College, Cathay's Park, Cardiff.
Marshall, Professor R. L., M.A., LL.D., 1 College Avenue, Magee College, Londonderry.
* Marten, Sir C. Henry K., K.C.V.O., M.A., The Cloisters, Eton College, Windsor.
Martin, Miss E. C., M.A., Ph.D., Westfield College, Hampstead, N.W.3.
Martin, Thomas P., A.B., A.M., Ph.D., Dunn Loring, Virginia, U.S.A.
* Mason, Rev. W. A. Parker, M.A., Ardleigh Vicarage, Colchester.
Mathew, Rev. A. G., O.P., M.A., Blackfriars, Oxford.
* Mathew, The Most Rev. Archbishop D. J., M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A. [Address unknown.]
* Mathur, Tikait Narain, B.A., LL.B., 30/27 Chili-ent Road, Agra, U.P., India.
Medley, Professor D. J., M.A., Ashby, Tydehams, Newbury, Berks.
Medlicott, Professor W. N., M.A., University College, Exeter.

Mellows, W. T., M.B.E., LL.B., F.S.A., The Vineyard, Vineyard Road, Peterborough.
Micklewright, Rev. F. H. A., M.A., 25 Albert Road, Whalley Range, Manchester, 16.
Midgley, Miss L. M., M.A., Crosby Hall, Cheyne Walk, S.W.3.
Milne, A. T., M.A., 14 Allison Grove, S.E.21.
Mitchell, C., M.A., B.Litt., 100 Ullswater Road, Southgate, N.14.
*Moir, Rev. A. L., M.A., Bromfield Vicarage, Ludlow, Salop.
Mollet, R., Le Coin, Bagatelle, Jersey, C.I.
Moody, Professor T. W., B.A., Ph.D., Trinity College, Dublin.
Moore, H. Stuart, F.S.A., 6 King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.4.
* Moorman, Mrs., B. A., Lanercost Priory, Brampton, Cumberland.
Moreton, Rev. Canon H. A. V., B.A., D. ès Lettres (Besançon), The Close, Hereford.
Morey, Rev. Dom R. Adrian, O.S.B., M.A., D.Phil., Downside Abbey, nr. Bath.
Morley, T. H., B.Sc., 312 King's Road, Reading.
Morrah, D. M. M., M.A., 95 Bedford Court Mansions, Bedford Square, W.C.1.
Morrell, Professor W. P., M.A., D.Phil., 16 Skibo Street, Kew, Dunedin, S.W.1, N.Z.
Morris, Ernest, F.R.G.S., The Verger's Lodge, St. Margaret's Vicarage, Leicester.
* Morris, Rev. H. C. S., M.A., Howell Vicarage, Burford, Oxon.
Murray, Miss K. M. E., B.A., B.Litt., Upper Cranmore, Heyshott, Midhurst, Sussex.
Myers, A. R., M.A., 12 Park Road South, Birkenhead, Cheshire.
Myres, J. N. L., M.A., F.S.A., Christ Church, Oxford.
Myres, Rev. M. W., D.D., F.S.A., Frodsham Vicarage, nr. Warrington.

Namier, Professor L. B., M.A., F.B.A., The Victoria University, Manchester, 13.
Narayan, Brij., M.A., c/o Allahabad Bank, Ltd., Delhi, India.
* Neale, Professor J. E., M.A., University College, Gower Street, W.C.1.
Nef, Professor J. U., Ph.D., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
Newhall, Professor R. A., Ph.D., Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., U.S.A.
Nichols, J. F., M.C., M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., 15 Minster Road, Godalming.
* Nicholson, T. C., M.A., Strathmore, Wath-upon-Dearne, nr. Rotherham.
Noakes, Miss J., Little Lindens, Linden Path, Leatherhead.
Nobbs, D., M.A., 51 Craiglockhart Avenue, Edinburgh, 11.
* Nunn, William, Gillgrass, Gosforth, Cumberland.

Oakeshott, W. F., M.A., The College, Winchester.
O'Brien, Rt. Rev. Monsignor Eric M., M.A., Ph.D., Lindsay Street, Neutral Bay, Sydney, Australia.
Offer, Rev. C. J., M.A., Ightham Rectory, Sevenoaks.
Opocensky, J., Na Kodymce 2, Prague xix, Czecho-Slovakia.

O'Sullivan, Professor Mary J. Donovan, M.A., Lisgorm, Galway, Ireland.
Otway-Ruthven, Miss A. J., B.A., 6 Trinity College, Dublin.
Owen, C.V., Offices of the Cabinet, Historical Section, 8 Barton Street, S.W.1.
* Owen, Commander J. H., R.N. (retired), 41A, Roland Gardens, S.W.7.
Owen, Professor L. V. D., M.A., University College, Nottingham.
* Owen, Robert, Eryl Owen, Bryneglwys, Welshpool.
Owst, Professor G. R., Litt.D., D.Lit., Ph.D., Gresham House, Cambridge.

Packard, Professor S. R., Ph.D., 45 Ward Avenue, Northampton, Mass., U.S.A.
* Paget, Major T. G. F., J.P., D.L., Sulby Hall, Welford, Rugby.
Paik, Professor L. G., M.A., Ph.D., Room 322, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y., U.S.A.
Pakeman, Professor S. A., M.C., M.A., University of Ceylon, Colombo, Ceylon.
PANTIN, W. A., M.A., F.S.A., Oriel College, Oxford.
Pares, Professor R., C.B.E., M.A., 7 Carlton Terrace, Edinburgh.
Parker, Captain H., F.R.G.S., 2 Albemarle Street, W.1.
Parker, H. M. D., M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford.
* Parkinson, C. N., M.A., Ph.D., Department of History, University of Liverpool.
Parry, E. Jones, M.A., Ph.D., 75 Cornwall Gardens, S.W.7.
Parsloe, C. G., B.A., 1 Leopold Avenue, S.W.19.
* Partridge, R. C. B., 43 Clapton Common, E.5.
Pearce, J. P., F.R.I.B.A., Lloyds Bank Buildings, 66 Bold Street, Liverpool, 1.
Pearn, B. R., M.A., Joyces, Colwall, Malvern.
* Pearson, Rev. Professor A. F. Scott, D.Th., D.Litt., 2 College Park, Belfast, N. Ireland.
Peaston, Rev. A. E., M.A., B.Litt., Simonstone Hotel, nr. Burnley, Lancs.
Peel, Rev. Albert, M.A., Litt.D., 35 Memorial Hall, E.C.4.
Peel, J. K., M.A., 6 Canterbury Terrace, Leicester.
Pelham, R. A., M.A., Ph.D., South Stoneham House, Swaythling, Southampton.
Penn, C. D., M.A., 4 Grantley House, 30A Florence Road, Boscombe, Bournemouth.
PENSON, Professor Lillian M., Ph.D., Bedford College, Regent's Park, N.W.1.
* Percy-Smith, Lt.-Col. H. K., c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., Pall Mall, S.W.1.
Perroy, Professor E. M. J., D-ès-L., University of Lille, 9 Rue Auguste Angillier, Lille, France.
Petrie, Sir Charles, Bt., M.A., Carlton Club, St. James's Street, S.W.1.
Peyton, S. A., Ph.D., 81 Riverdale Road, Sheffield 10.
* Phelps, Rev. P. B., M.A., Swanmore, nr. Bishop's Waltham, Hants.
PHILIPS, Professor C. H., M.A., 26 St. James' Close, Eastcote, Ruislip, Middlesex.
Phillips, Brigadier C. E. L., O.B.E., M.C., c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., 6 Pall Mall, S.W.1.
Pickthorn, K. W. M., M.A., Litt.D., M.P., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
Pieris, P. E., C.M.G., Litt.D., Nugedola, Pasyala, Ceylon.

Plucknett, Professor T. F. T., M.A., LL.B., F.B.A., 17 Crescent Road, S.W.20.
Plumb, J. H., Ph.D., Christ's College, Cambridge.
Plunket, Miss Ierne A. L., M.A., 2 The Lawn, St. Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex.
* Pollard, A. F., D.Litt., D.Lit., Litt.D., F.B.A., Brierfield, Milford-on-Sea, Hants.
Poole, A. L., M.A., St. John's College, Oxford.
* Porteus, Rev. Canon T. C., M.A., B.D., St. George's Vicarage, Gillibrand Walks, Chorley, Lancs.
Postan, Professor M. M., M.A., Peterhouse, Cambridge.
* Potter, Professor G. R., M.A., Ph.D., The University, Sheffield.
Potter, H., Ph.D., LL.B., King's College, Strand, W.C.2.
Powell, Miss I. G., M.A., Royal Holloway College, Englefield Green, Surrey.
Powell-Price, Lt.-Col. J. C., M.A., C.I.E., I.E.S., 119A Ladbroke Road, W.11.
Power, C. E., 24 Howard Road, New Malden, Surrey.
Powicke, Professor Sir F. Maurice, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D., F.B.A., Oriel College, Oxford.
Powley, E. B., M.A., B.Litt., 6 Partridge Road, Blundellsands, Liverpool, 23.
Procter, Miss Evelyn E. S., M.A., St. Hugh's College, Oxford.
Pugh, R. B., M.A., 11 Lawn Road Flats, N.W.3.
Purvis, A., B.Sc., 6 Greenhalgh Walk, Hampstead Garden Suburb, N.2.
Purvis, Rev. J. S., M.A., F.S.A., The Causey, Westgate, Bridlington.
Putnam, Professor Bertha H., Ph.D., Dickinson House, South Hadley, Mass., U.S.A.
Pybus, Miss H. J., M.A., Newnham College, Cambridge.

Quinn, Professor D. B., Ph.D., 52 Eaton Crescent, Swansea.

Radford, C. A. R., M.A., F.S.A., The Athenæum, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
Rae, D. M., M.A., Teachers' Training College, Epsom, Auckland, S.E.13, New Zealand.
Ragatz, Professor L. J., M.A., Ph.D., The George Washington University, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
* Ramsay, G. D., M.A., D.Phil., St. Edmund Hall, Oxford.
Ramsey, R. W., F.S.A., 43 Ladbroke Square, W.11.
Ratton, M. H., 4 Walton Street, Oxford.
Rawlinson, H. G., C.I.E., M.A., 32 Queen's Gate Terrace, S.W.7.
* Ray, J. E., 49 Ashburnham Road, Hastings.
Read, Conyers, Ph.D., Box 593, Villa Nova, Penn., U.S.A.
* Realey, C. B., Ph.D., Department of History, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, U.S.A.
Reaney, P. H., M.A., Litt.D., 12 Howard Road, Walthamstow, E.17.
* Reddaway, T. F., M.A., 19 Broadlands Road, Highgate, N.6.
* Reddaway, W. F., M.A., King's College, Cambridge.
* Redford, Professor A., M.A., Ph.D., 57 Manor Drive, Manchester, 21.
Redlich, Rev. Canon E. B., M.A., B.D., Little Bowden Rectory, Market Harborough.
Rees, Rev. T. Mardy, 24 Rugby Avenue, Neath, S. Wales.

Rees, Professor W., M.A., D.Sc., F.S.A., University College, Cathay's Park, Cardiff.
Reeves, Miss M. E., M.A., Ph.D., 13 Norham Gardens, Oxford.
* Reid, Miss R. R., M.A., D.Lit., 40 Cholmley Gardens, Hillfield Road, N.W.6.
Renier, Professor G. J., Ph.D., 66 St. Margaret's Road, Twickenham, Middx.
Rich, E. E., M.A., St. Catharine's College, Cambridge.
* Richards, R., Oxford House, Oxford Road, Birkdale, Southport.
Richardson, Mrs. H., 2 Bedford Place, Malvern Wells, Worcs.
Richardson, H. G., M.A., B.Sc., High Barn, 14 Sheridan Road, S.W.19.
Richardson, Professor R. K., Ph.D., Beloit College, Beloit, Wis., U.S.A.
Rimmer, Rev. Canon J. S., M.A., B.D., The Rectory, Ulverston, Lancs.
Roberts, P. E., M.A., Worcester College, Oxford.
Robertson, Miss A. J., M.A., Ph.D., 13 Argyll Crescent, Aberdeen.
Robertson, Sir Charles Grant, C.V.O., M.A., All Souls College, Oxford.
Robertson, L. A., M.A., B.Litt., 310 Ferry Road, Edinburgh, 5.
Robinson, Professor Howard, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, U.S.A.
* Rodkey, F. S., A.M., Ph.D., 325 Lincoln Hall, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
Roe, F. Gordon, F.S.A., Wayside, Station Road, Princes Risborough, Bucks.
Rogers, Rev. Patrick C. J., M.A., D.Litt., St. Malachy's Diocesan College, Belfast.
Ronan, Rev. M. V., Presbytery, Halston Street, Dublin.
Roskell, J. S., M.A., D.Phil., 337 Brandlesholme Road, Bury, Lancs.
Roth, Cecil, M.A., B.Litt., D.Phil., 1 Garford Road, Oxford.
Rothwell, Professor H., B.A., Ph.D., University College, Southampton.
* Routh, Miss E. M. G., Wentworth House, Richmond, Surrey.
Routledge, F. J., M.A., B.Litt., 10 Townfield Road, West Kirby, Cheshire.
Rowe, Miss B. J. H., M.A., B.Litt., c/o National Provincial Bank, Ltd., The Square, Bournemouth.
Rowse, A. L., M.A., All Souls College, Oxford.
Roxby, Mrs. M. P., M.A., c/o The British Council, 3 Hanover Street, W.1.
Rubinstein, N., Ph.D., 53 Frognal, N.W.3.
Ruddock, Miss A. A., Ph.D., Birkbeck College, Fetter Lane, E.C.2.
Runciman, The Hon. J. C. S., M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
* Russell, Ephraim, M.A., B.Sc., Avoncroft, 34 Shipston Road, Stratford-upon-Avon.
Russell, J. C., Ph.D., 246 Glandon Drive, Chapel Hill, N.C., U.S.A.
Rutherford, Professor J., M.A., Ph.D., University College, Auckland, New Zealand.
Ryley, Miss C., 8 Beaconsfield Road, Wick, Littlehampton.

Sadler, H. W. W., Grammar School, Uxbridge Road, Hayes, Middlesex.
Sadullah, M., M.A., 12-0 Chauburji Gardens, Lahore, Punjab, India.
Sage, Professor W. N., M.A., Ph.D., University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.
* Salter, F. R., M.A., Magdalene College, Cambridge.

Saltmarsh, J., M.A., F.S.A., King's College, Cambridge.
Salusbury, Lt.-Col. G. T., M.A., B.Litt., 9 Grange Gardens, Grange Road, Cambridge.
* Samuel, S., LL.D., 104 Forest Hill Road, Toronto, Canada.
* Samuel, Lt.-Commander W. S., R.N.V.R., F.S.A., 46 Hanover House, N.W.8.
Sanigar, W. T., 205 Avon Vale Road, Barton Hill, Bristol.
Sastri, K. N. V., M.A., Ph.D., H.H. Maharaja's College, Mysore, India.
* Saunders, H. W., M.A., D.Litt., Horse Fair Cottage, Penkridge, Staffs.
Saxl, Professor F., Ph.D., 162 East Dulwich Grove, S.E.22.
Sayles, Professor G. O., M.A., D.Litt., Aberfoyle, Maryville Park, Belfast, N. Ireland.
Schofield, B., M.A., Ph.D., British Museum, W.C.1.
* Scholes, P. A., D.Mus. (Oxon.), A.R.C.M., F.S.A., Clos Grammont, Chemin des Crêtes, Clarens, Switzerland.
Schuyler, Professor R. L., A.M., Ph.D., Columbia University, New York City, U.S.A.
* Scofield, Miss Cora L., Ph.D., The College Club, 40 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
Scott, Rev. H. S., D.Phil., B.Litt., Oddington Rectory, Islip, Oxon.
Sears, Professor L. M., Ph.D., Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana, U.S.A.
Sefton-Jones, Mrs. H. M., Hampton Court Palace, Hampton Court, Middlesex.
Sen, Surendra Nath, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt., Imperial Record Department, Queensway, New Delhi, India.
Seton-Watson, Professor R. W. (*President*), D.Litt., Ph.D., F.B.A., 5 Linton Road, Oxford.
* Seybolt, Professor R. F., M.A., Ph.D., University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
Seymour, President C., LL.D., Litt.D., 43 Hillhouse Avenue, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
Sharma, Sri Ram, M.A., D.A.V. College, Sholapur, India.
Shaw, I. P., M.A., 19B Park Hill Road, Croydon, Surrey.
* Shaw, R. C., M.Sc., F.R.C.S., 24 Ribblesdale Place, Preston, Lancs.
* Shawcross, Major G. N., R.E. (T.A.), M.B.E., Deanwood, Rivington, nr. Bolton.
Shelley, R. J. A., Denbie House, 27 Pilkington Road, Southport.
Sherwani, Principal H. K., M.A., Principal's Lodge, Nizam College, Hyderabad, Deccan, India.
* Shettle, Rev. Canon G. T., L.A., 25 Duchy Road, Harrogate.
Shirley, Rev. Canon F. J., M.A., LL.B., F.S.A., The King's School, Canterbury.
Siebert, Professor W. H., M.A., University Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A.
* Sieveking, A. Forbes, F.S.A., 7 Belsize Grove, N.W.3.
* Simpson, Rev. F. A., M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Slosser, Rev. Professor G. J., S.T.M., Ph.D., 203 Summit Avenue, Bellevue, Pittsburg, Pa., U.S.A.
* Smalley, Miss B., M.A., Ph.D., St. Hilda's College, Oxford.

Smart, Lt.-Col. F. W. B., M.A., Rathmoyle, Hurtmore, Godalming.
Smith, D. B., The Library, Admiralty, S.W.1.
* Smith, Miss M. Howes, M.A., 2 Sunny Bank, Stamford Road, Bowdon, Cheshire.
Smith, S., B.A., Ph.D., Highclere, Oatlands Road, Shinfield, nr. Reading.
Smith, W. Owston, M.A., I.E.S., 39 Chancellor House, Tunbridge Wells.
* Smyth, Rev. Canon C. H. E., M.A., 20 Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.1
Soltau, Professor R. H., M.A., American University, Beirut, Syria.
Somers, Rev. H. J., J.C.B., M.A., Ph.D., St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia.
Somerville, R., M.A., 77 Teignmouth Road, N.W.2.
Southam, Colonel L. A. C., D.S.O., Rodney House, Malvern Link.
Southern, R. W., M.A., Balliol College, Oxford.
Spencer, T. P., M.A., Burnage High School for Boys, Manchester, 19.
Spens, H. B., B.A., 169 West George Street, Glasgow, C.2.
Stafford, G. W., M.A., Moorbeck, Lightwood Road, Buxton.
Stanley, Professor G. F. G., M.A., B.Litt., D.Phil., University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada.
Steed, H. Wickham, LL.D., 7 Lansdowne House, Holland Park, W.11.
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Woodley, E. C., M.A., Shelbourne Towers, Apt. 109, 3787 Côte des Neiges, Montreal, Canada.
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* Wormald, F., M.A., F.S.A., Department of Manuscripts, British Museum, W.C.1.
Wright, C. E., M.A., Ph.D., Department of Manuscripts, British Museum, W.C.1.

Zaleski, August, B.Sc., 43 Eaton Place, S.W.1.
Zema, Rev. D. B., S.J., Fordham University, New York 58, N.Y., U.S.A.

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Bennett, R. F., B.A., Magdalene College, Cambridge.
Blaydon, G. R., 37 Croxton Road, Thetford, Norfolk.
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Busby, Major J. H., Further Bowers, Harpenden, Herts.

Collar, H., The Museum, Saffron Walden, Essex.
Cook, E. T., 116 Westwood Park, S.E.23.
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Emsden, Nevil, School House, Manea, March, Cambs.

Fraser, W., 73 Main Street, Stapenhill, Burton-on-Trent.

Granger, E. R., Bluefield, Blofield, Norfolk.

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Headlam, Mrs. Cecil, Dysters Hillock, Black Lunans, By Blairgowrie, Perthshire.
Henriques, Miss U. R. Q., B.A., B.Litt., 4 Campden Hill Square, W.11.
Hobbs, J. L., F.L.A., Borough Library and Museum, Castle Gates, Shrewsbury.
Humphreys, Mrs. M. E., B.A., 36 Ennox Hill, Frome, Somerset.
Hunt, J. W., M.A., 95 The Drive Mansions, Fulham Road, S.W.6.

Inglis, D., M.A., The County School for Boys, Brecon, S. Wales.

Jones, E. W., 54 Walker Road, Blackley Estate, Manchester, 9.
Joyce, J. A., B.Sc.(Econ.), Maltman's Cottage, Maltman's Lane, Gerrard's Cross, Bucks.

Kemp, Miss Betty, B.A., 21 Hermitage Road, Hale, Cheshire.
Kemp, Rev. E. W., M.A., Pusey House, Oxford.

La Page, J., F.S.A., Craig Lea, 44 Bank Crest, Baildon, Yorks.
Lea, R. S., M.A., 29 Crestway, S.W.15.

MacMahon, K. A., B.A., 31 Wellesley Avenue, Beverley High Road, Hull, Yorks.
Mathews, E. F. J., B.Sc. (Econ.), Oak Lodge, Budleigh Salterton, Devon.
Mills, H. J., M.A., B.Sc., 144 Essex Road, Southsea, Hants.
Milne, Miss D. J., 1 Brodie Park Avenue, Paisley, Renfrewshire.

Nicholls, R. E., M.A., Ph.D., Glenholm, Hook Road, Surbiton, Surrey.

Oldham, C. R., M.A., Gordon College, Khartoum, Egypt.
Owens, J. Ll. H. [Address unknown].

Pereira, Capt. H. P. E., The Worcestershire Regiment, Norton Barracks, Worcester.
Philip, I. G., M.A., 28 Portland Road, Oxford.
Platts, W. L., F.S.A., Linden Chase House, Sevenoaks.
Prior, D. J., Highfield Road, Thrapston, Kettering, Northants.

Radford, Miss C., Strand End, Topsham, Devon.
Ramm, Miss A., M.A., Bedford College, Regent's Park, N.W.1.
Ransome, Miss M. E., M.A., 22 Lansdown Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.8.
Reeve, H. F., 24 Gold Top, Newport, Mon.

Sanders, I. J., M.A., University College, Aberystwyth.
Sellers, J. M., M.A., 13 Alexandra Road, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, S. Africa.
Skerrett, H. A., B.A., Deputy Secretary for Education, Education Office, Springfield, Cliftonville, Northampton.
Slade, C. F., B.A., 5 Warren Road, Woodley, Reading.
Snell, L. S., Trebartha, Chywoone Hill, Newlyn, Penzance, Cornwall.

Thompson, C. H., F.L.A., c/o Central African Archives, Zomba, Nyasaland.

Walford, A. J., M.A., Ph.D., F.L.A., 42 Carlton Avenue West, North Wembley, Middlesex.
Wallace-Hadrill, J. M., M.A., Corpus Christi College, Oxford.
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Botha, C. Graham, M.A., LL.D., Nairn, Isabel Avenue, Newlands, C.P., South Africa.
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Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

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The University, Pittsburgh, 13.
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Pullman (Wash.), State College of Washington.

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Swarthmore (Penn.), Swarthmore College.
Syracuse (N.Y.), Syracuse University.

Terre Haute (Ind.), Indiana State Normal School.

Urbana (Ill.), Illinois University.

Washington (D.C.), Catholic University of America.
Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Takoma Road.
Wellesley (Mass.), Wellesley College.
Williamstown (Mass.), Williams College.
Winona (Minn.), College of Saint Teresa.

U.S.S.R.

Leningrad, Biblioteka Akademii Nauk, S.S.S.R. "C/98/24/1117", Birzhevayaliniya, 1.
Biblioteka Akademii Nauk, S.S.S.R. Vasiljevsk, Ostrov, "D/98/24/683", Birzhevskajalinija 1.
Gos. Publichn. Biblioteka im. Saltykova, Schedrina, Sadovaja Ul., 18.
Moscow, Library of Social Sciences of the Academy of Science of U.S.S.R.
Maxim Gorki Library of Moscow State Union.
Gos. Publichn. Istorich. Biblioteka Marosejka.
Rostov-on-Don, Gos. Nauchnaja Biblioteka im. K. Marksa, D/88/03/2, Knizhnaja 15/17.
Tbilissi, State University of Tbilissi.

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Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 63 Merrion Square, Dublin.
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Queen Street, Edinburgh.
The Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion, 20 Bedford Square, W.C.1.
Surrey Archæological Society, Castle Arch, Guildford.
Jewish Historical Society, Mocatta Library, University College, Gower Street, W.C.1.
The Victoria University, Manchester.
Thoroton Society, Bromley House, Angel Row, Nottingham.

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FRANCE.

Bibliothèque de l'Université de Toulouse, 2 rue de l'Université, Toulouse Haute-Garonne.
Société de l'École Nationale des Chartes, 19 rue de la Sorbonne, Paris.
Société de l'Histoire de France, 60 rue des Francs-Bourgeois, Paris.

GERMANY

Deutsch-Ausländische Buchtausch, Unter den Linden, 38, Berlin, N.W.7.
Hansischer Geschichtsverein, Staats Archiv, Königstrasse 21, Lübeck.

HOLLAND.

Commissie van Advies voor Rijks Geschied-kundige Publicatien, The Hague.

Historisch Genootschap, Utrecht, c/o Bibliothèque de l'Université.

POLAND.

Société des Sciences et des Lettres de Varsovie, L'Université, Warsaw.

SPAIN.

Real Academia de la Historia, Calle del Leon 21, Madrid.

SWEDEN.

Historisk Tidskrift, Storgatan 41, Stockholm.

SWITZERLAND.

Allgemeine Geschichtsforschende Gesellschaft der Schweiz. Stadt Bibliothek, Berne.

UNITED STATES.

Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

U.S.S.R.

Moscow, State Historical Library.
State Lenin Library, Ulitza Kalinina 3.
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MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS.

Domesday commemoration. Notes on the manuscripts, etc., exhibited at the Public Record Office. 1886. 5s. (*Out of print.*)

Domesday studies. 2 vols. Edited by P. E. Dove. 1886. 24s. (*Out of print.*)

England and Napoleon in 1803 : being the despatches of Lord Whitworth and others. Edited by Oscar Browning. 1887. 7s. 6d. (*Out of print.*)

Walter of Henley's Husbandry, together with an anonymous Husbandry, Seneschaucie, and Robert Grosseteste's Rules. Edited by Elizabeth Lamond and the Rev. W. Cunningham. 1890. 12s.

Proceedings of the Gibbon commemoration, 1794–1894. 1895. 5s.

The Domesday of Inclosures, 1517–18. Edited by I. S. Leadam. 2 vols. 1897. 30s.

A bibliography of the historical works of Mandell Creighton, William Stubbs, S. R. Gardiner and John, Lord Acton. Edited by W. A. Shaw. 1903. 5s. (*Out of print.*)

German opinion and German policy before the War. By G. W. Prothero. 1916. 4s.

Magna Carta commemoration essays. With preface by the Right Hon. Viscount Bryce. Edited by H. E. Malden. 1917. 25s.

* A repertory of British archives. Part I. England. Compiled by Hubert Hall. 1920. 10s. 6d.

A list and index of the Transactions and publications of the Royal Historical Society (1869–1924) and of the publications of the Camden Society (1840–1897). Edited by Hubert Hall. 1925. 5s.

The *Domesday monachorum* of Christ Church, Canterbury. 1944. 30s. (7s. 6d. to Fellows, Associates and subscribing libraries.)

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Bibliography of British history : Tudor period, 1485–1603. Edited by Conyers Read. 1933. Oxford Univ. Press, 35s. (Special price, 24s.)

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Bibliography of British history : 1715–1789. Edited by D. J. Medley and S. M. Pargellis. (*In preparation.*)

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES.

Writings on British history, 1934. Compiled by A. T. Milne. 1937. London, Jonathan Cape, 12s. 6d. (Special price, 10s.)

Writings on British history, 1935. Compiled by A. T. Milne. 1939. London, Jonathan Cape, 12s. 6d. (Special price, 10s.)

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*9. Speculi Britanniæ Pars : an historical and geographical description of the county of Essex, by John Norden, 1594. Edited by Sir H. Ellis. 1840.
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*69. The Domesday of St. Paul's, 1222; or Registrum de visitatione maneriorum per Robertum decanum, and other original documents relating to the manors and churches belonging to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's London in the 12th and 13th centuries. Edited by W. H. Hale. 1858.

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